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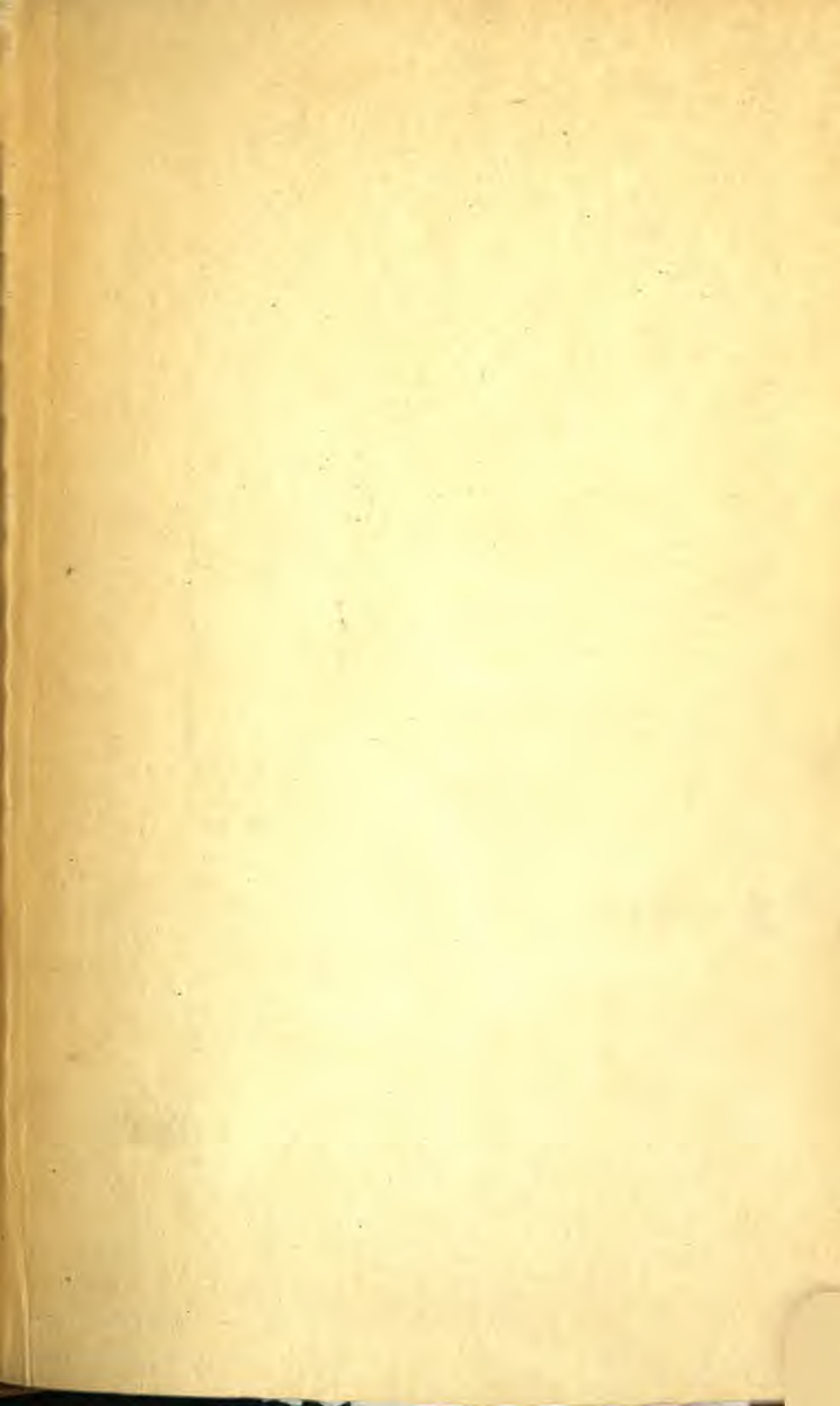
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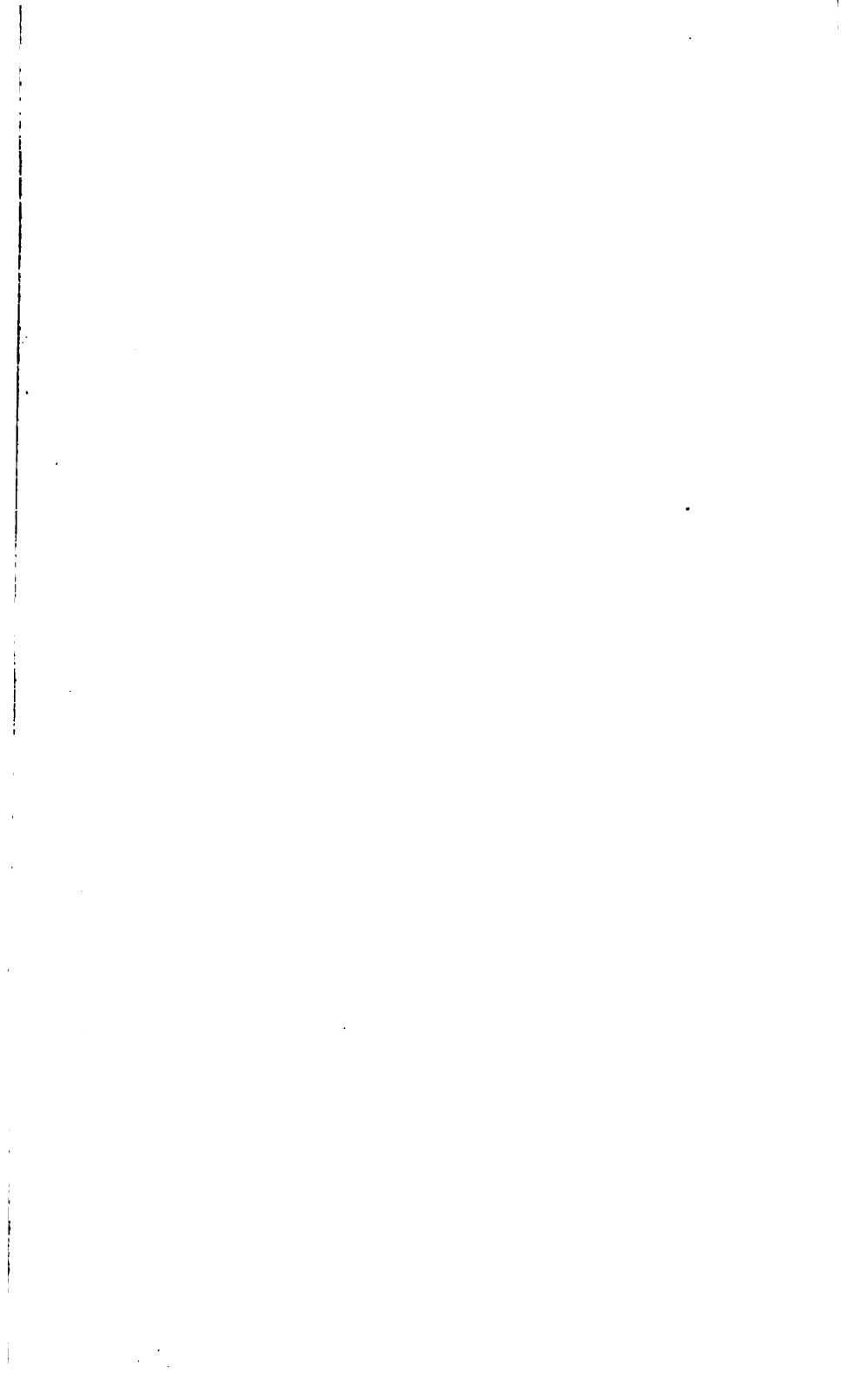
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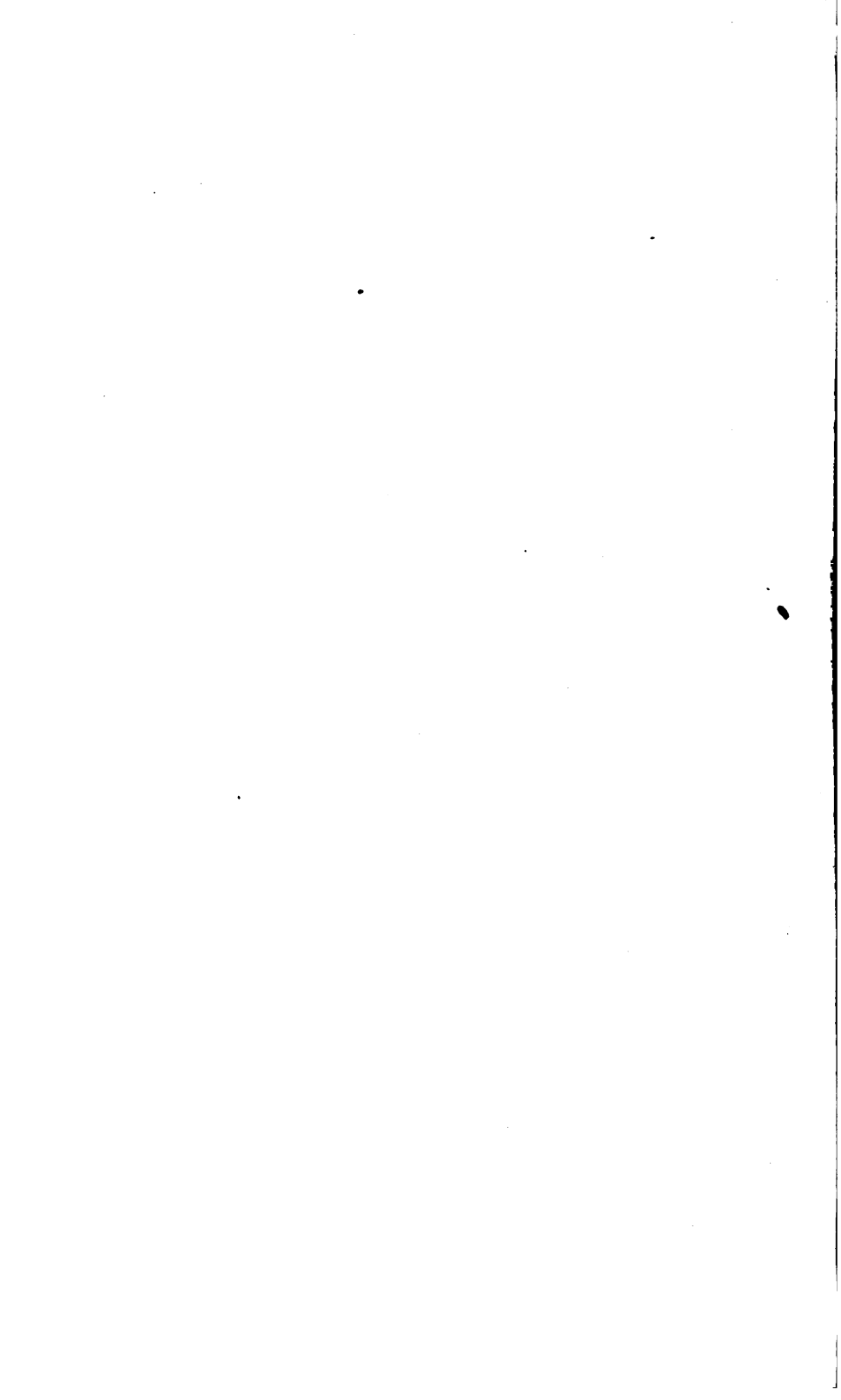
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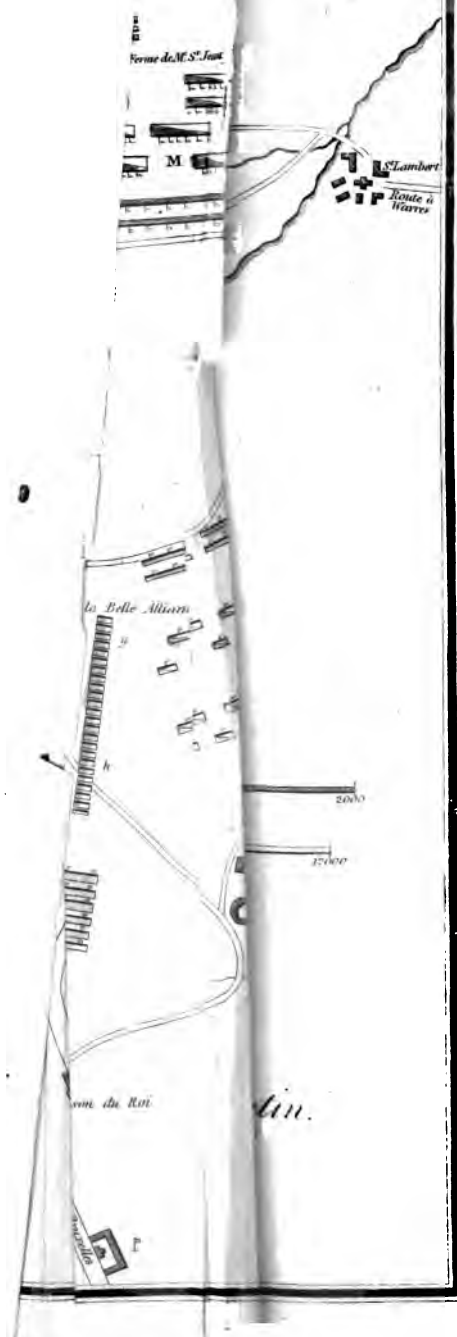












GENERAL SUMMARY.

FRENCH ARMY.

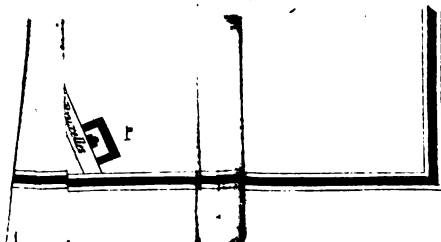
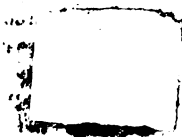
- A Second in order of battle, in 2 lines, 3 divisions, or 24 battalions.
- a Light cavalry of the 2d corps, 3 regiments, or 12 squadrons.
- B 1st corps, 4 divisions, or 32 battalions.
- b Light cavalry 1 corps, 3 regiments or 12 squadrons.
- C Cuirassiers of Kellerman, 24 squadrons.
- D Cuirassiers of Milhaud, 24 squadrons.
- E Dragoons and grenadiers of the guard, 20 squadrons.
- F Chasseurs and lancers of the guard, 20 squadrons.
- G 6th corps, in column by divisions, 2 divisions, or 12 battalions.
- g Light cavalry of the 6th corps, in column by squadrons, 12 squadrons.
- h Light Cavalry of Subervie, in column by squadrons, 12 squadrons.
- I Foot guards, 24 battalions.
- P Imperial head quarters, and spot where the Emperor remained stationary a part of the day.

ENGLISH ARMY.

- K 1st and 2d English division and the British division.
- L 3d English division, 1st and 2d Belgian divisions.
- M 5th and 6th English divisions, and 3d Belgian.
- N Cavalry.
- O Reserve.
- P 4th English division.
- Q First brigade of English cavalry.
- R Anglo-Belgian line.
- S English brigade.
- T English detachment.
- U Anglo-Belgian detachment.
- V Brigade of Cavalry.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ABRAHAM SMALL.

1820.



HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

OF

NAPOLEON I. [*Bonaparte*],
Emp. of the French.

BOOK IX.

1815.



TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.

Barry Edward

BY **B. E. O'MEARA.**

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ABRAHAM SMALL.

1820.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER FIRST.

THE BOURBONS ARE DRIVEN FROM FRANCE.

- I. *The imperial eagle is successively displayed from steeple to steeple to the towers of Notre Dame at Paris.*—II. *Secret convention concluded in the latter part of the year 1814, by Austria, France and England, against Russia and Prussia.*—III. *The King of Naples declares war against Austria, on the twenty-second of March.*—IV. *Congress of Vienna in March, 1815.* PAGE 9

CHAPTER SECOND.

MILITARY STATE OF FRANCE.

- I. *State of the army on the first of March, 1815.*—II. *Organization of an army of 800,000 men.*—III. *Arms, clothing, horses, finances.*—IV. *State of the army on the first of June, 1815.*—V. *Paris.*—VI. *Lyon.* 25

CHAPTER THIRD.

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

- I. *Could the French army commence hostilities on the first of April?*—II. *The three plans of campaign—first project: to remain on the defensive, and wait for the armies of the enemy at Paris and Lyons.*—III. *Second project: commence offensive operations on the fifteenth of June, and invade Belgium.*—IV. *Third project: to begin offensive operations on the fifteenth of June, and in case of not succeeding, to draw the enemy under Paris and Lyons.*—*This plan the Emperor adopts.* 54

CHAPTER FOURTH.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN OF JUNE, 1815.

- I. *State and position of the French army on the evening of the 14th of June.*—II. *State and position of*

the English and Prussian army.—III. Manœuvres and combats of the fifteenth.—IV. Position of the belligerent armies on the night of the fifteenth, sixteenth. 67

CHAPTER FIFTH.

BATTLE OF LIGNY.

- I. *March of the French army to attack the Prussians.*
 —II. *Battle of Ligny on the sixteenth of June.*
 —III. *Engagement at Quatre Bras, on the same day.*
 —IV. *Positions of the armies in the night of the sixteenth, seventeenth.*
 —V. *Their operations on the seventeenth.*
 —VI. *Their positions in the night of the seventeenth, eighteenth.* 88

CHAPTER SIXTH.

BATTLE OF MOUNT ST. JEAN.

- I. *Line of battle of the English army.*—II. *Line of battle of the French army.*—III. *Projects of the Emperor—Attack of Hougomont.*—IV. *General Bulow arrives on the field of battle with 30,000 men, which augments Wellington's army to 120,000 men.*—V. *Attack of St. Haze by the first corps.*—VI. *General Bulow is repulsed.*—VII. *Charge of cavalry on the plain.*—VIII. *Movement of Grouchy.*—IX. *Movement of Blucher, which increases the enemy on the field of battle to 150,000 men.*—X. *Movement of the imperial guards.* 114

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

RALLYING.

- I. *Rallying of the French army at Laon.*—II. *Retreat of Marshal Grouchy.*—III. *Resources left to France.*—IV. *Effects of the Emperor's abdication.* 162

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

OBSERVATIONS.

- I.—II.—III.—IV.—V.—VI.—VII.—VIII.—IX.
Observations. 173

PREFACE.

THE manuscript from which the following work has been faithfully translated, has been in the Translator's possession since October, 1818. Circumstances, however, retarded the publication until the desire of the illustrious personage by whom it was dictated could be ascertained. It forms the ninth book of his great work. The time has not yet arrived, when it would be proper to submit to the public any more than the present volume, which is purely military; and which contains an authentic relation of the memorable events which, took place in France and in Flanders, during the hundred days.

The Translator thinks, that the work cannot fail to satisfy the curiosity of the nation. Besides furnishing ample details of the operations which occurred in the Campaign of 1815, it is enriched with military criticisms of the first order. It is NAPOLEON himself who speaks. He criticises the conduct of the Generals who were opposed to him, while he bears ample testimony to the undaunted gallantry of the British troops; and he supports his arguments by reasonings and by proofs. It is unnecessary to praise such a work. It unmasks some reputations, but it declares the truth. It will furnish to history inappreciable materials, and to military men interesting lessons.

If, on considering all the circumstances which have attended the publication of this work, any person should feel disposed to question the conduct of the Editor, in becoming the means of bringing it before the world, he replies, that having been chosen by NAPOLEON as a professional assistant

worthy of his confidence, and having in consequence lived under the same roof in habits of frequent and unconstrained intercourse with him, the Editor would have proved himself destitute of the best attributes of human nature, if he had not sympathised with the sufferings of a man, who, from the highest pitch of grandeur and power, had fallen into the hands of those, who, unhappily, did not consider it incompatible with their glory to treat him with indignity. When the Editor accepted from his government the appointment of surgeon to NAPOLEON, at the request of the latter, he had of course no intention to ally himself with every agent of that government in improper feelings and illiberal practices; but he considered, on the contrary, that the treatment of NAPOLEON would be in exact conformity to the public professions of that government and its Allies; that is to say, a detention from motives of state policy, accompanied by the most liberal and generous treatment; and he never anticipated

the possibility of his being expected to aid in the gratification of the worst passions—as questionable in their policy, as they are unworthy of the great nation in whose name they have been perpetrated.

It may not be improper to add, that a Translation is in preparation of the **EIGHTH BOOK OF THESE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS**, which will appear in a few weeks.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,
Late Surgeon to NAPOLEON.

London, February 8, 1820.

☞ A French toise is equal to 6 feet 4 1-2 inches.

When money is mentioned, the franc is meant—equal to 18 3-4 cents.

MEMOIRS
OF
NAPOLEON.

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER FIRST.

THE BOURBONS ARE DRIVEN FROM FRANCE.

I. *The imperial eagle is successively displayed from steeple to steeple to the towers of Notre Dame at Paris.*—II. *Secret convention concluded in the latter part of the year 1814, by Austria, France, and England, against Russia and Prussia.*—III. *The king of Naples declares war against Austria, on the twenty-second of March.*—IV. *Congress of Vienna in March, 1815.*

I. NAPOLEON departed from the island of Elba on the twenty-sixth of February, 1815, at nine o'clock in the evening. He embarked on board the sloop of war *Inconstant*, which, during the whole passage,

displayed a white flag bespangled with bees. On the first of March, at five o'clock in the afternoon, he disembarked on the shores of the bay of Juan near Cannes. His small army assumed the tricoloured cockade. It consisted of 1,100 men, the greater part soldiers of the old guard. On the second he marched through Grasse, and at nine o'clock arrived at Sernon, having that day traversed twenty leagues. On the third he passed the night at Barreme. On the fourth, his advanced guard, commanded by General Cambronne, took possession of the fortified place of Sisteron. On the fifth, he entered Gap: the seventh, at two o'clock in the afternoon, on the heights, in advance of Vizille, he fell in with the advance guard of the garrison of Grenoble, marching against him. He went to meet them alone, harangued them, made them mount the tricoloured colours, placed himself at their head, and at eleven o'clock at night entered Grenoble; having in six days passed over eighty leagues of a very difficult mountainous country. This is the greatest march recorded in History.

He remained at Grenoble on the eighth, and left it on the ninth at the head of 8,000 troops of the line, and thirty pieces of cannon; and at nine in the even-

ing he entered Lyons, the second town in France. Count Defargues, Mayor of the city, presented him the keys thereof. The Count d'Artois, the Duke of Orleans, and Mareshal Duke of Tarente had alone left the place, at ten in the morning. Their unexpected arrival at the Thuilleries threw the court into the utmost consternation. At length on the twentieth of March, the birth day of his son, at eight in the evening the Emperor entered Paris. Forty thousand troops of the line of every description, successively arranged themselves under his standards. The following day the small army of Elba arrived, having in twenty days performed a march of two hundred and forty leagues.

Louis left Paris on the night of the nineteenth or twentieth of March, and France the twenty-third. After his departure from Lille all the fortified places of Flanders hoisted the tricoloured flag. On the first rumor of the landing of Napoleon, the Duke of Bourbon was sent to Nantes to place himself at the head of the Vendéans. The Duke of Angouleme had previously been invested with the government of the provinces on the left of the Loire. Every attempt to raise the western people in arms failed; they forgot

not the obligations they were under to Napoleon. The Duke of Bourbon embarked on board of an English vessel at Paimbœuf, on the first of April. The Duke of Angouleme sent from Bordeaux, Baron Vitrolles, minister of state, in order to establish the chief place of his government at Toulouse. He left the Dutchess his wife at Bordeaux, in hopes of retaining, in the interests of his party, that important town, and of their rallying the Spanish army. Having placed himself at the head of the first regiment of infantry of the line, the fourteenth of mounted chasseurs and some battalions of the royal volunteers of Languedoc, he undertook the rash enterprise of marching against Lyons; at the same time the inhabitants of Marseilles were marching upon Grenoble. He crossed the Rhone on the bridge of St. Esprit, destroyed the bridge of Drome, which defended the national guards of Montelimart, entered Valence on the third of April, and established his out posts along the left bank of the Isere.

At the same time the people of Marseilles to the number of 2,500, and supported by the eighty-fourth, and fifty-eighth of the line, under the command of Lieutenant General Ernouf, entered Gap, and marched

towards Grenoble. This success was of very short duration. The Dutchess of Angouleme was, on the second of April, forced to leave Bordeaux, by the arrival of Lieutenant General Clausel. She embarked on board an English cutter. Vitrolles was arrested on the fourth of April by Lieutenant General Laborde, and transferred to the prisons of Paris. General Gilly taking advantage of the enthusiasm of the people of Languedoc, placed himself at their head. His advance guard, consisting of the tenth mounted chasseurs, and the sixth light infantry, took possession of the bridge of St. Esprit, and drove the royalists therefrom. On the report of the dangers menacing Lyons, the inhabitants of Burgundy and Auvergne rose in a body and proceeded towards Lyons to demand arms, in order to march against those princes, allies of the enemies of the French nation. In every part of the commune of Dauphiny the tricoloured flag was hoisted. Signals of alarm announced the approach of the royalists. The troops of the line, at the sight of the imperial eagle, displayed before them by Lieutenant General Chabert, at the head of a detachment of national guards, abandoned the enemies of their country. The troops

of Marseilles, surrounded on all sides, fled precipitately to their homes. The Duke of Angouleme, in dismay, then saw the imprudence of his enterprise. He precipitately evacuated Valence, with the intention of taking possession of the bridge of St. Esprit. He was taken prisoner by General Gilly ; but his liberty was restored to him by the emperor, who, on the sixteenth of April, had him embarked at Cette, on board a Swedish vessel. Mareshal Massena, on displaying the tricoloured flag in Provence, put an end to the civil war. The restoration of the French people to their rights, was, on the twentieth of April, announced to the capital, by a hundred discharges from the cannon of the corps of Invalids, and to foreign nations by the firing of the batteries on the coast, and of the frontier fortifications.

History will record with admiration the magnanimity of the conqueror, on this occasion. Baron Vitrolles, to whom the general amnesty decreed at Lyons did not extend, and the Duke of Angouleme, to whose sentence the laws of retaliation dictated, had both their lives given them. " It is my wish," said Napoleon, " to have it in my power to boast that I reconquered my throne without the effusion of

blood, either in the field of battle, or on the scaffold."

II. At the termination of the year 1814, and the commencement of 1815, discord had divided the congress of Vienna. Austria, France, and England had entered into a secret convention against Russia and Prussia, to whose exorbitant demands there appeared no bounds. Prussia insisted on the annexation of Saxony to her dominions, which was contrary to the interests of Austria. France, seconded by Spain, demanded of the court of Vienna, as a recompense for the support given her, the restoration of the Bourbons of Sicily to the throne of Naples. This Austria refused, as much through jealousy of the Bourbons, as a desire not to betray King Joachim, who had contributed so much to the success of the allies in 1814, by siding with the enemies of his country, against the head of his family and his benefactor. Murat's operations were then decisive of the event of affairs: for if with his army of 60,000 men he had joined the Gallia-Italian army, commanded by the Viceroy, he would have obliged the Austrian army to have remained in the defence of Corinthia

and Tyrol. The army of the Viceroy was superior to that of Field Marshal Bellegarde, but it was held in check by the Neapolitans. Thus the weight he threw into the balance was equivalent to 120,000 men. With 100,000 men less the allies could not have undertaken the invasion of France before spring. In 1814, the Neapolitan army was in a good condition, for it contained 2,000 officers and non-commissioned officers, French, Corsican, or Italian of the kingdom of Italy, who left it on the receipt of the circular of Count Mole, Grand Judge, recalling the French from the service of Naples. The Austrian ministers, at the congress of Vienna, took many occasions to impress the little importance they attached to the interference of the court of Thuilleries.

They insinuated that Lewis the XVIII. could not assemble 10,000 men without danger of the soldiers turning against himself. The Prince of Benevento advised the cabinet of the Thuilleries to form three encampments, one in Franche Compté, the other before Lyons, and the third in the south. These three encampments might be augmented to 36 or 40,000 men, without any increase of the military establishment, and without any extraordinary ex-

pense. The credit of France would thereby be raised among foreigners. This plan was adopted. In the course of the month of February the troops were put in motion. The general of division, Ricard, repaired to Vienna, where, in several conferences, he boasted of the fine state of the French army, and of their zeal and attachment to the King. He pompously announced the formation of three camps, containing 80,000 men, in the vicinity of the Alps. The French plenipotentiaries insisted that this army aided by a Spanish division should be transported either by land, through Genoa, Florence and Rome, or by sea, to the southern part of Italy. The King of Naples was not inactive on his part. He collected his army of 60,000 men on the frontiers. To counteract the negotiations of the Court of the Thuilleries, he requested of Austria permission for the passage of his troops over the Alps into France, and strengthened, as much as lay in his power, the opinion that the French soldiers were disaffected to the Bourbons.

It was under these circumstances that Napoleon landed. The French regiments destined to form the three encampments were in motion. They seemed

as if stationed to escort him, in his triumphant march from the bay of St. Juan to Paris. Marshal Soult, then minister of war, was accused of treason, but the appearances against him were fallacious. These movements of troops and their position, though according so well with the route of the Emperor, were in consequence of the express orders of the King and of the representations of the French plenipotentiaries at Vienna. Foreigners on this occasion shewed themselves better acquainted with the secret dispositions of the French people and the army, than the princes and ministers of the house of Bourbon.

III. On the sixteenth of February, a few days before Napoleon left the island of Elba, he despatched one of his chamberlains to Naples, to inform that court, 1st. that he was upon the point of departing to re-enter his capital, and to drive the Bourbons from his throne: that he was determined to maintain the treaty of Paris, which made him hope that the allied powers would take no part in the civil contest; that otherwise, the Russian troops were beyond the Niemen; part of the Austrians beyond the Inn, the majority of the Prussians beyond the Oder, and half of

the English army in America; that the congress of Vienna had terminated its operations, and that the Czar was on his way to St. Petersburg. 2d. That he requested Murat to send a courier to Vienna, in order that his ambassador might notify that court, that France would abide by the treaty of Paris, and particularly renounced all pretensions to Italy. 3d. That, in any case, hostilities could not commence before the end of July. That France and Naples would have time to concert measures; that previously he ought to intrench his army in a good position in advance of Ancona, and on all unforeseen occasions the principles of his conduct should be, that it would be better for him to retreat than to advance, to give battle behind the Garignano, than on the Po; that he might effect much as a diversion, and when supported by a French army; but without which he could accomplish nothing.

The envoy of the Emperor arrived at Naples on the fourth of March. The sloop of war *Inconstant*, on her return from the Bay of Juan, arrived there on the twelfth. A few days after, a courier from Genoa, brought thither the news of the triumphant entry of Napoleon into Grenoble and Lyons. The King no

longer concealed his sentiments. He openly avowed his intention of revolutionising Italy. "The Emperor," said he, "will find no difficulty, the whole French nation will flock to his standard. If I delay marching to the Po, if I wait until July, the French armies will have re-established the kingdom of Italy, and retaken the iron crown. It belongs to me to proclaim the independence of Italy."

The envoy of the Emperor, and the Queen, earnestly endeavoured to make the King sensible of the danger and temerity of such an enterprise, but in vain. He set off for Ancona, and on the twenty-second of March was at the head of his army. He crossed the Rubicon, without even waiting for the information of the arrival of the Emperor in Paris. He traversed Romagna, and occupied the Ecclesiastical States and Tuscany with his troops. The Pope retired to Genoa, the Grand Duke to Leghorn. The King, having arrived at Bologna, attempted to excite the inhabitants of the kingdom of Italy to revolt. But they requested to be informed why he did not mention Napoleon, their legitimate King: that without his orders they could do nothing; moreover, it appeared to them imprudent to act before the arrival of the

French troops on the Alps ; and finally, that they were in want of muskets. The province of Bologna alone required 40,000. The Neapolitan artillery were without any. A few days afterwards, the Austrian army, which had been concentrated on the left bank of the Po, crossed over, defeated the Neapolitan army, and entered Naples the twelfth of May. The King, unable to enter the fortress of Gaëta, embarked on board a merchantman and landed in Provence, where he remained to wait the arrival of his family, and to collect his partisans. His Queen had capitulated with a British commodore, who, according to the constant custom of the allies in these wars, totally disregarded the articles thereof, as at Dantzic and Dresden. Instead of transporting the Queen to France, he landed her at Trieste. About the commencement of April, Prince Lucien, accompanied by a charge d'affaires of the Pope, arrived incognito at Fontainebleau. From him the first news of the invasion of the north of Italy by the King of Naples, was received. The Pope informed the Emperor, that if the possession of Rome was not guaranteed to him he should take refuge in Spain. The papal charge d'affaires was received at the Thuilleries, and he departed with the

most favourable assurances to his holiness. The Emperor guaranteed all that had been accorded to him by the treaty of Paris, informing him also, that he censured the conduct of the King of Naples, as contrary to his wishes.

IV. The news of the landing of the Emperor in France was received at Vienna on the eighth of March. The congress was still in session. On the thirteenth and twenty-fifth of March, the Ministers of the allied powers signed acts unexampled in history. They believed the Emperor to be undone. "He will," they said, "be immediately repulsed and defeated by the faithful subjects of Louis." But when it was ascertained that the Bourbons, instead of opposing resistance, were forced to fly from every part of France, and that the whole nation had declared for the sovereign of their choice, the allies compromised their mutual jealousies, yet not without some hesitation.

When the court of Vienna was informed of the sentiments of the king of Naples, and a short time after of his hostile march, she doubted not that he acted by the orders of Napoleon, and who, constant

and unshaken in his political system, was no more what he had been at Chatillon, desiring with the crown of France to have that of Belgium, the Rhine, and perhaps even the iron crown; she hesitated no longer. The ministers signed a treaty against France, by which the four principal powers engaged to furnish each 150,000 men. The ratifications were exchanged on the twenty-fifth of April, and it was supposed that by the end of July a million of men of all nations of Europe would be assembled on the frontiers of France. Sweden and Portugal alone refused to furnish their contingents. The peace between England and the United States of America, concluded at Ghent, having been ratified about the end of February, the English troops, no longer required in Canada, were embarked for Europe. On the fifteenth of April the Duke of Wellington had his head quarters at Brussels, and Prince Blucher at Liege. The Thames, the Danube, the Spree, the Neva, and the Tagus, resounded with warlike preparations. The French frigate *Melpomene* being on the coast of Italy, was captured by the English vessel *Rivoli*: but a few days afterwards orders were received from London by the Commodore in the Mediterranean, to

respect the French flag, war having not yet been declared. The French vessels were thus left in security. A French frigate conveyed from Naples to France, Madame. These orders of the English government were occasioned by the indecision of the sovereigns at Vienna, and by the desire of the court of London to gain time; for her armies in Belgium were not in a state to defend that country: moreover, the admiralty, meeting with considerable difficulties in equipping their vessels, were fearful lest the French squadron at Toulon might put to sea before theirs. Twice the strange and unaccountable conduct of the King of Naples was the cause of our misfortunes: in 1814 by declaring against France, and in 1815 by declaring against Austria.

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY STATE OF FRANCE.

I. *State of the army on the first of March, 1815.*—

II *Organization of an army of 800,000 men.*—

III. *Arms, clothing, horses, finances.*—IV. *State of the army on the first of June, 1815.*—V. *Paris.*

—VI. *Lyon.*

I. DURING the six last months of 1814, the French army received a new organization. In March, 1815, it was composed of 105 regiments of infantry, of which three were stationed in the colonies, four Swiss regiments, four of infantry of the old guard, under the denomination of grenadiers and chasseurs of France; 57 regiments of cavalry of the line; four regiments of cavalry of the old guard, styled grenadiers, dragoons, chasseurs and lancers of France, eight battalions of artillery, two battalions of pontoniers, three regiments of sappers, miners and workmen, termed engineer corps. The regiments of infantry con-

sisted of two battalions; six only contained three. The effective strength of each regiment one with another was 900 men, of which 600 were disposable for active operations in the field. The effective strength of the cavalry was 25,000 men, and 16,000 horses; and could furnish 11,000 horse for the field. The battalions of artillery were formed of the remains of corps. They had 2,000 horses in the depots, and 6,000 distributed among the country people for subsistence. The whole effective force amounted to 149,000; and 93,000 men of every description could take the field; (*see table A*). A force scarcely sufficient to garrison the fortified places; and the principal naval establishments. For all the fleet had been dismantled and the crews discharged, excepting one sail of the line and three frigates at Toulon, and two frigates at Rochefort. The only force, in existence, attached to the marine, was eight battalions of cannoniers. It therefore became necessary to detach from the land army, troops for the defence of Cherbourg, Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort and Toulon. There was sufficient of ordnance stores, notwithstanding the losses sustained by the cession of the field equipage, shut up in Anvers,

Vesel, Mayence and Alexandria, to provide for the wants of the greatest armies, and to repair the losses they might sustain during several campaigns. There were in the arsenals 150,000 new muskets, 300,000 to repair or returned, besides those in the hands of the army. This was quite insufficient. All the fortified places were dismantled, the palissades and provisions for a siege had been sold, but the ordnance stores were sufficient for the equipment of the artillery.

II. Eight hundred thousand men were judged necessary to encounter Europe with equal force. The first care was the internal organization and regulations of the army. The numbers by which the regiments had been designated ever since the year 1794 were again adopted. They had signalised themselves in twenty-five campaigns and in a thousand engagements!! The third, fourth, and fifth battalions of the regiments of infantry were ordered to be raised; also the fourth and fifth squadrons of cavalry; the thirty battalions of artillery; twenty regiments of young guards; ten battalions of the wagon train, and twenty regiments of marines. This

gave employment to all the officers on half pay both of the army and navy. Two hundred battalions of the elite of the national guards, were drafted; each battalion was composed of two companies of grenadiers, two of voltigeurs and consisted of 560 men. All the veterans were recalled to their standards: there was no occasion of coercion; they repaired to them with joy: farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers, &c. all abandoned their work at the end of the week, put on their old uniforms, and rejoined their former regiments. This requisition ought to have produced 200,000 men, but it added only 130,000 to the army of the line, for a great number enrolled themselves in the 200 battalions of the elite of the national guard, and others entered as substitutes in the conscription of 1815. The conscription of 1815 was called out. It ought to have produced 140,000 men, but at the end of May, there were only 80,000 of it. The insurrection of the Vendéans caused a deficit. Moreover, the young men of this conscription had been called out in 1814, and they preferred joining their standards as veterans. The twenty regiments of marines were formed by 30,000 sailors of the former squadrons of Anvers, Brest,

Rochefort and Toulon. They were officered by the officers of the marine and the mates. A requisition of 250,000 men was to be proposed to the Chambers in the month of July. The levy would have been completed in September. The number of retired and disbanded officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers amounted to upwards of 100,000 men, 30,000 were capable of garrison duty. They speedily complied with the orders of Mareshal the Prince of Eckmulh, then Minister of War. Their experience and good will were of great use, in forming the new levies, and in the protection of the fortresses. (*See Table B.*)

III. The most important object was fire arms. The arsenals were furnished with a sufficient quantity of swords. The ordnance department took several measures to double the activity of the old manufactures. 1st. The workmen were exempted from military duty. 2d. They gave the necessary advances to the contractors. 3d. The rigour of old regulations was relaxed, and agents authorised to receive mixed models with simpler locks than those of the model of 1777. Manufactures of locks were

established on principles of expedition. The imperial manufactories could furnish 20,000 new stand of arms each month, but by these extraordinary means they could furnish 40,000, which in six months would have amounted to 240,000, this was however not sufficient. Work-shops were established, in all the large fortified places, in sufficient numbers to repair all the old muskets in the arsenals of France in six months. But the great resource was the work-shops established in the capital. They were of three descriptions. The first were for the purpose of restocking pieces, the cabinet makers of the suburb St. Antoine, though at first unhandy at this work, nevertheless were not long before they became very expert. The second was for the repair of old muskets. The third made new ones. The workmen in brass and copper, journeymen clock makers, and ornamental workers in metal, who are numerous in this large city, were all employed. The artillery officers conducted all these shops with so much zeal and intelligence, that in the month of May, they furnished daily 1,500, in June 3,000, and were to finish 4,000—commencing from the first of July. There was more activity in the capital than in 1793, but

with this difference, that all was then waste, anarchy and disorder.

The arms manufactured by the revolutionary shops were defective, and of no great service ; but in 1815 every thing was conducted with the greatest economy, upon good principles of management, and all the arms manufactured, conformed to the rules of art. This important service was not lost. (*See Table C.*)

The manufactures of cloth calculated for the clothing of troops were numerous in 1812 and 1813. They were competent to supply all the wants of the army ; but in 1814 they were entirely stopped. The Minister of War gave them no orders ; nor had he directed the issue of any clothing to the troops, with the exception of the six regiments bearing the names of the King and Princes. From the month of April the treasury advanced several millions to the manufacturers of cloth, which in one month put their establishments into activity. Clothing for 800,000 men was a very considerable concern, which it would have been impossible to have procured in time. The minister, by one of the articles of the law authorising the levy of 250,000 men, ordered the local national guards to furnish 100,000 suits and equipments for the army in active service.

The contractors had delivered 20,000 cavalry horses before the first of June. 10,000 horses completely equipped, were furnished by the gendarmerie, who had been dismounted. The price was paid to them in cash, and in eight days they had all supplied themselves with horses of their own choice. It was in contemplation to take the half of these horses in the course of July. 14,000 more were contracted for. There was then on the first of June 46,000 cavalry horses, either in the depots, or in the line, and at the close of July there would have been 66,000. From the country people 5,000 artillery horses had been collected. Contracts for 15,000 had been concluded, of which 12,000 were delivered by the first of June. At that time there were therefore 18,000 artillery horses.

The facility with which these enormous expenses, were met by the Minister of Finances, the Duke of Gaete, and the Minister of the Treasury Count Molien, excited universal astonishment. The providing for every part of the service required immediate funds; most of the contractors even insisted on advances. Notwithstanding this, the interest of the public debt, and the pensions, were paid with the

greatest promptitude. All the internal expenses, so far from being diminished, were augmented. The great system of public works was recommenced over all France. "We see," said the workmen, "that the man of enterprise has returned. Every thing was dull, now all is activity; we were all without employ, now we are all occupied." The opinion that the Emperor had found a hundred millions, in gold, in the treasury of the Thuilleries, was generally believed. This was not so. The real treasure he discovered was the affections of his people, the well wishes not only of the mass of the nation, but also of the French and Holland capitalists. The treasurer had negotiated four millions of the income of the sinking fund at 50 per cent., which he replaced on the credit of the national forests. This produced him, clear of all deductions, forty millions ready money, which was realised with extreme rapidity. The King left Paris with so much precipitation, that he left behind him the plate belonging to the crown, valued at six millions, as also the funds of the treasury spread throughout France, amounting to fifty millions. A part of this sum was employed by Baron Lewis, his minister,

in buying in the (*bons royaux*) obligations given by the King.

This bad system was abandoned by the Duke of Gaëte, and the funds, appropriated thereto, were at his disposal. The contributions were not augmented, but the people were eager to advance payment. Gratuitous gifts were numerous. In some departments they exceeded a million. On all public occasions, unknown citizens approached the Emperor, and presented packets of bank notes. Several times on his return to his apartments, he transmitted to the minister of the treasury 80 or 100,000 francs, which he had thus received. This could not have produced any very considerable sums, but we cite it as a testimony of the high excitement of the national good will.

By the first of October, France would have had a military establishment of from 8 to 900,000 men completely organised, armed, and equipped. The question of her independence now consisted in being enabled to delay hostilities to the first of October. The months of May, June, July, August, and September, were necessary, but they were sufficient. At that period the frontiers would have presented a bar-

rier, too strong for any human power to break, with impunity. (*See table B.*)

IV. On the first of June the effective force of the French troops, under arms, was 559,000 men. (*See tables D. and E.*) So that in two months the minister of war had raised 414,000 men, nearly 7,000 a day. Of this number, the effective strength of the army of the line amounted to 363,000; of the extraordinary army to 196,000. Of the line, 217,000 men were present, clothed, armed, disciplined, and ready to take the field. They were formed into seven army corps, four corps of reserve of cavalry, four corps of observation, and the army of La Vendée. They were distributed along the frontiers, so as to cover them. But the principal forces were cantoned within reach of Paris, towards the frontiers of Flanders. On the first of June all the troops left the fortresses to be garrisoned by the extraordinary army. The first corps, commanded by Count Erlon, took cantonment in the environs of Lille. It was composed of four divisions of infantry, the strength of each being four regiments; of a division of light cavalry; of four regiments and of six parks of artillery. The

second corps, commanded by Count Reille, cantoned around Velenciens. Its composition was the same as the first corps, but somewhat stronger, some regiments having three battalions. The third corps, commanded by Count Vandamme, assembled in the environs of Mezieres. It consisted of three divisions of infantry, one of cavalry, and five parks. The fourth corps, commanded by Count Gerard, was stationed in the vicinity of Metz. It comprised three divisions of infantry, a division of light cavalry, and five parks; one of its regiments of infantry was detached to La Vendee. The fifth corps, commanded by Count Rapp, was in Alsace. It consisted of three divisions of infantry, a division of light cavalry, and six parks. The sixth corps, commanded by Count Lobau, was assembled at Laon. It was composed of three divisions of infantry, one of light cavalry, and six parks; but from each of the divisions of infantry there was a regiment detached to La Vendee. The seventh corps, commanded by Marshal Shuchet, assembled at Cambrey. It comprised two divisions of infantry of the line, each composed of four regiments; of two divisions of the elite of the national guards, of eight battalions each; of a division

of light cavalry; and of six parks of artillery. The first corps of observation, denominated Jura, commanded by General Lecourbe, consisted of a division of infantry, of three regiments each; of two divisions of the elite of the national guards, of eight battalions each; of a division of light cavalry; and of five parks. The second corps of observation, called Var, commanded by Marechal Brune, was composed of a division of infantry of three regiments, two whereof consisted of three battalions; of a regiment of cavalry; and of three parks. These regiments of infantry were taken from the twenty-third military division, and replaced by the battalions of Corsican volunteers. The third corps of observation of the eastern Pyrenees, commanded by General Decaen, assembled at Toulouse. Its strength consisted of a division of infantry of three regiments, of a regiment of cavalry, of sixteen battalions of the elite of the national guards, and of three parks. The fourth corps of observation, commanded by General Clausel, was at Bordeaux. Its organisation was the same. These two last corps were weakened by detaching from each a regiment of infantry for the service of La Vendee. The Vendean, after having

displayed the imperial eagle, during April, revolted in May.

General Lamarque commanded the imperial army in this place. It was composed of eight regiments of the line, two regiments of young guards, two regiments of cavalry, of ten squadrons of gendarmerie, each 400 men, of twelve battalions or detachments of the line, destined for the army corps; but from the urgency of the occasion retained in La Vendee. The four corps of reserve of cavalry under the command of Marshal Grouchy, were all cantoned between the Aisne and the Sambre. To each corps of cavalry there were attached two parks and two divisions, each of three regiments, of light artillery. The first corps, consisting of light cavalry, was commanded by Count Pajol. The second corps, composed of dragoons, was under the command of Excelmans. The third corps, formed of cuirassiers, was under orders of Count Milchaud. The fourth corps, also of cuirassiers, was commanded by Count Kellerman. The imperial guards were composed of four regiments of young guards, four of intermediate guards, four of old guards, four regiments of cavalry, and ninety-six pieces of cannon. (*See Table F.*) In the army corps,

the regiments, generally, did not consist of more than two battalions. The battalions were composed of 600 men present, and under arms. There was, therefore, a deficit of 240 men for each. These however, were on their march, and would have joined, before the first of July. The third, fourth, and fifth battalions, and the recruits, were moving from all parts of France toward Paris, Lyons, and the west. The ordnance department was preparing a new equipment of 500 pieces of field artillery, with all the requisite stores, ammunition, harnesses, and a double quantity of provisions. The 200 battalions of the elite of the national guard, forming an effective force of 112,000 men, were all raised. One hundred and fifty battalions, consisting of 85,000, garrisoned the ninety fortifications on the frontiers of the empire; forty-eight, amounting to 26,000 men, were stationed as already noted. Sixteen with the first corps of observation, sixteen with the seventh army corps, and sixteen formed a reserve on the Loire. Count Dumas displayed a great deal of activity and industry in raising these troops, and for this he merited well of France. Independently of these 200 battalions of the elite of grenadiers and chasseurs, there were rais-

ed, during the month of May, forty-eight battalions of national guards in Languedoc, Gascony, and Dauphiny. Those of Dauphiny were in Provence in June; those of Languedoc augmented the third corps of observation to 15,000 men; those of Gascony increased the fourth corps to the same number. This completed the defence of the Pyrenees. These forty-eight battalions were not comprised in the statement of the first of June, for, at that time, they had not left their principal places of rendezvous in their departments; nor was their organisation completed: but at the close of June they had reached the places of their destination. Of the 30,000 officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates called from retirement, 20,000 men reinforced the garrisons of the fortifications, and 10,000 garrisoned Marseilles, Bordeaux, and other towns, where their presence might be useful in exciting public spirit, and in keeping a watchful eye on the evil disposed. The ninety fortresses were provided with arms, palisadoes, and provisions. They were commanded by experienced officers.

The first frontier line of the north consisted of Calais, Dunkirk, St. Omer, Lille, Conde, Maubeuge,

and Phillepville. They were provisioned for six months. Their garrisons were complete, but neither uniformed nor trained, they consisted of the elite of the national guards.

The second line included Andres, Aires, Bethune, Douay, Valenciennes, Le Quesnoy, Avesne, and Recroy. They were provisioned for four months. Their garrison consisted of one half their proper number.

The third line comprised, Montreuil, Hesdin, Arras, Bouchain, Landrecy, Bapaume, Cambrai, Abbeville, Chateau d'Amiens, Peroune, Chateau de Ham, and Laon. They were provisioned for three months, and had the fourth part of their garrisons.

On the Moselle frontiers the first line was composed of Charlemont, Meziere, Chateau de Sedan, Chateau de Bouillon, Longwy, Thionville, Sarre-Louis, Bitche. These had supplies sufficient for four months, with complete garrisons.

The second line consisted of Verdun, Metz, Phalsbourg, Toul. They were provisioned for four months, with half their garrison.

On the frontiers of Alsace there were, Landau, Lauterbourg, Hagemeau, Strasbourg, Scelestadt,

Neubrisach, Huninguen. All with complete garrisons, and six months provisions.

On the Swiss frontiers, Befort, Besançon, Fort l'Ecluse, Auxonne, were provisioned for four months, and had their garrisons.

On the frontiers of the Alps were, Fort Barraux, Briançon, Mont Dauphin, Colmars, Entrevaux, Antibes, with their garrisons, and provisions for four months.

The Mediterranean frontier comprised, the forts of St. Marguerite, the castle of St. Tropez, the fort of Brigançon, the forts of the islands of Hyeres, Toulon, the fort of Boue, Aigues Mortes, Cette, Collivure. All these had garrisons sufficient to repel any sudden attack, and their supplies were coming in. The sea coast batteries were remanned. All the fortifications on the frontiers of the Pyrenees, from Perpignan to Bayonne, of the first and second line, were armed and provisioned, with garrisons more or less numerous. Little was apprehended from Spain. In fine, all the fortresses on the Atlantic frontier, viz. Bayonne, Chateau Trompette, the forts of the island of Aix, of the isle of Oleron, of the Isle Re, of Rochelle, the castle of Nantes, Isle Dieu,

Belle Isle, Brest, fort St. Malo, Cherbourg, Havre, the castle of Dieppe, were armed, and with sufficient garrisons to be secure from any sudden attack. They were receiving their provisions. The guard coast cannoniers were raised. All the English forces being occupied in Belgium, or in America, there was no serious apprehension for the sea coast.

V. If, as it was to be feared, hostilities should commence before fall, the united armies of Europe would far exceed, in numbers, the French army, the destinies of the empire should then have been decided at Paris and Lyons. These two large cities had once, like all the capitals in Europe, been fortified, and like them their fortifications had gone to decay.

However, if in 1805 Vienna had been fortified, the battle of Ulm would not have decided the event of the war. The army corps, commanded by General Kutusoff, would there have awaited the return of the other Russian army corps, from their route to Ulm, and the army of Prince Charles, approaching from Italy. In 1809, Prince Charles, who had been defeated at Eckmulh, and obliged to retreat by the left bank of the Danube, would have had time to arrive

at Vienna, and to form a junction with the corps of General Hiller, and the army of the Archduke John.

If Berlin had been fortified in 1806, the army routed at Jena would have rallied there, and been joined by the Russians.

If, in 1808, Madrid had been a strong place, the French army, after the victories of Espinosa, Tudella, Burgos, and Sammosiera, would not have marched toward that capital, leaving in the rear of Salamanca and Valladolid, the English army of General Moore, and the Spanish army of Romana. These two last armies would, under the fortifications of Madrid, have united with the armies of Arragon and Valencia.

In 1812 the Emperor Napoleon entered Moskow. If the Russians had not taken the determination to set fire to that extensive city, a thing unrecorded in history, and which they alone were capable of executing, the taking of Moskow would have led to the subjugation of Russia: For the conqueror would have there found,—1st. All that was necessary to repair the clothing and stores of an army. 2d. Flour, vegetables, wine, brandy, and all that was necessary for the subsistence of a large army. 3d. Horses to

remount all the cavalry; in fine, the support of 80,000 freed men, sons of freedmen, or wealthy slaves, impatient of the yoke of the nobility, who would have communicated ideas of liberty and independence to the slaves; a frightful prospect, and which would have induced the Czar to make peace, the more so, as the conqueror's intentions were moderate. The conflagration destroyed all the magazines, and dispersed the population. The merchants and commonalty were ruined, and this large city was then the receptacle of disorder, anarchy and crimes. If it had been fortified, Kutusoff would have encamped on its ramparts, and its investment would have been impossible.

Constantinople, though a much larger town than any of our modern capitals, owed its safety to its fortifications. Without them the empire of Constantine would have terminated in 700, nor have had a duration of more than 300 years. The successful Musselmén would then have planted the standard of ~~the~~ prophet there. This they did not until 1440,—800 years afterwards. This capital, therefore, was indebted to its walls for 800 years of existence. During this period it was fifty-three times besieged, and fifty-

two times unsuccessfully. The French and Venetians took it, but after a very vigorous attack.

Paris has owed its safety ten or twelve times to its walls. 1st. In 885, it would have been sacked by the Normans. These barbarians besieged it two years without effect. 2dly. In 1358, it was in vain besieged by the Dauphin; and though the inhabitants, a few years after, opened the gates to him, it was of their own accord. 3dly. In 1359, Edward, King of England, encamped at Montrouge, devastated the country to its walls, but recoiled from before its works; and retired to Chartres. 4thly. In 1429, King Henry the V. repulsed the attack of Charles the VII. 5thly. In 1464, the Count of Charolais surrounded this great city, but failed in all his attacks. 6thly. In 1472, it would have been taken by the Duke of Bourgone; but he was forced to content himself with ravaging its precincts. 7thly. In 1536, Charles the Fifth, master of Champaign, placed his head quarters at Meaux. He reconnoitred the ramparts of the capital, which owed its safety to its walls. 8thly and 9thly. In 1588 and 1589, Henry III. and Henry IV. retired from before the fortifications of Paris; and though some time afterwards the inhabitants opened their

gates, it was of their own good will, and in consequence of the abjuration of St. Denis. 10thly. Finally, in 1636, the fortifications of Paris, for several years, were the safety of its inhabitants. If Paris had still, in 1814 and in 1815, been a fortified place, capable of a resistance of only eight days, what effects might it not have had on the events of the world?

A large capital contains the selection of a nation; all the great make their homes there; it is the centre of opinion, and the depositary of taste. It is one of the greatest contradictions and inconsistencies to leave so important a point defenceless. The Emperor, on his return from the campaign of Austerlitz, often occupied himself therewith, and had several plans drawn for fortifying the heights of Paris. The fear of exciting disquietude among the inhabitants, and the events which followed with such incredible rapidity, prevented him from carrying this project into effect. How! will it be said, do you pretend to fortify towns that have a circuit of from 77 to 96,000 feet? You will require 80 or 100 fronts, from 50 to 60,000 garrison soldiers, and from 800 to 1000 cannon. Now 60,000 soldiers are an army; would it not be better to employ them in line? This objection is generally

made to large fortified places; but it is false, in as much, as it confounds a soldier with a man. Without doubt it would require from 50 to 60,000 men to defend a large city, but not from 50 to 60,000 soldiers. In times of misfortune and great calamity, the state may be in want of soldiers, but not of men, for its internal defence. 50,000 men, of whom from 2 to 3000 are cannoniers, would defend a capital and interdict the entry to an army of from 3 to 400,000 men. Now those same 50,000 men, in a champaign country, if they are not well trained soldiers, and commanded by experienced officers, would be thrown into disorder by a charge of 3000 cavalry. Moreover, in all large cities, a part of their inclosure is capable of being inundated; for, being situated on large rivers, their ditches can be filled with water, either by natural means or by steam engines. Places of such magnitude, and containing such strong garrisons, have, in certain proportions, commanding points, without the possession of which, it would be impossible to hazard entering the town.

But, whatever might have been the plan of the campaign adopted in 1815, whatever care might have been taken to arm, provision, and supply the ninety

fortified places on the frontiers of France, if the enemy commenced hostilities before fall, Paris and Lyons were the two important points; while they were occupied in sufficient force, the country would not be lost, nor obliged to submit to the discretion of its enemies!!

The General of engineers, Haxo, conducted the plan of fortification for Paris. He commenced with the occupation of the heights of Montmartre; those below the mills, and the table land from the hill of Chaumont to the heights of Pere la Chaise. A few days sufficed to trace these works, and to make them assume an aspect of defence. He had the canal of Ourcq, running from St. Denis to the basin of Vilette, completed. The officers, belonging to the corps of bridges and highways, were charged with this work. They acquitted themselves with that zeal and patriotism, for which they were distinguished. The earth was thrown on the left bank for the purpose of forming a rampart. On the right bank they constructed demi-lunes, to cover the platforms. The small town of St. Denis was inundated. From the heights of Pere la Chaise, to the Seine, the right rested on the works established at l'Etoile, under the cannon of

Vincennes, and on the redoubts in the park of Bercy. A caponnier of 800 toises joined the barrier of Trone to the redoubt of l'Etoile. This caponnier was already constructed; the platform was raised, and had a good wall on each side. These works were completed, and six hundred pieces of cannon planted on them by the first of June. General Haxo had traced the works for the left bank of the Seine from opposite Bercy to the barrier beyond the military academy. Fifteen days were required to finish them. The lines of fortification on both shores, communicated by following the right bank of the Seine along St. Cloud, Neuilly, and St. Denis. The city being thus defended, a fort was to be constructed enclosing the triumphal arch of Etoile; its right supported by the batteries of Montmartre, its left by the works constructed on the heights of the barrier of Passy, crossing their fire with the works established on the side of the military academy, on the other shore. In fine, three forts intrenching the fronts of Belleville, were situated on the extreme ridge of Paris; so that the troops might there rally, and prevent the enemy, after having forced the lines, from opening on Paris in that direction. In a system of permanent fortifications for

this city, all the low parts ought to be inundated; and the communications with the fortified entrance to the bridge of Charenton and of Neuilly should be occupied by small posts. That is to say, the heights of Calvaire, in order that the army might manœuvre on both shores of the Marne, and Seine. The parks of artillery for the right shore were separated from those of the left. Sixes, twelves, and eighteens, were selected for the left bank; and fours, eights, sixteens, and twenty-fours, for the right. This was done to prevent confusion in the calibres. General officers, Colonels, and a great number of artillery officers, were particularly detailed to the direction of this service. There were two battalions of marine cannoniers from the Atlantic coast, in number 1,600 men; fourteen companies of artillery of the line, making 1,500 men, and twenty companies of the artillery of the national guard; of volunteers from the Academy of Charenton, from the Polytechnic School, and from the Lyceum; in all from 5 to 6,000 experienced gunners, competent to manage a thousand pieces of cannon. Four hundred pieces of iron twenty-fours, eighteens, twelves, and sixes, had arrived from Havre, out of the marine arsenals. They were placed

in battery. Six hundred brass field pieces were also destined for this service. Twenty batteries, with field equipments, forming four reserves of five batteries each, were so placed as to be readily transported to any part of the line, either to the intrenchments of Belleville, or to the shores of the Seine, as either might be menaced. Independent of these 6,000 cannonniers, 55,000 men were sufficient to guard the enclosure; and Paris offered a certain resource for more than 100,000 men, without weakening the army of the line.

VI. The General of Division of Engineers, Lery, conducted the works at Lyons. This city, situated at the confluence of the Soane and Rhone, is strong by nature. He threw up works on the left bank of the Rhone to cover the bridge of Morand. The bridge of Guillotiere he protected by a tambour, and constructed a drawbridge on the middle arch. The suburb of Guillotiere is without the defences of the town, but its inhabitants were patriotic and courageous. The engineer determined to protect it by a line of redoubts, which would admit of defending it a long time. The old inclosure on the right bank of

the Soane, led along the summit of the hills and Pierre-encise. It was completed, as also that between the Soane and Rhone. The proper place to attack Lyons is on these fronts, between the two rivers. The engineer threw up, in advance, three field works, which were flanked by the inclosure, and by one another. A hundred and fifty pieces of marine artillery, from Toulon, and a hundred and fifty brass field pieces were placed in battery. By the twenty-fifth of June all these works were thrown up, pallsadoed and armed. A battalion of marine cannoniers 600 men strong, nine companies of artillery of the line, making 1,000 men, and 900 cannoniers drafted from the national guards, the school of agriculture, and the Lyceum, completed the number of 2,500; this was more than sufficient for the service of the artillery. A large staff of artillery was attached to the place. Large stores of provisions were formed there. From 15 to 20,000 men were sufficient to defend Lyons. 30,000 men were to be calculated on, without weakening the line of the army.

CHAPTER III.

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

I. *Could the French army commence hostilities on the first of April?*—II. *The three plans of campaign—first project: to remain on the defensive, and wait for the armies of the enemy at Paris and Lyons.*—III. *Second project: commence offensive operations on the fifteenth of June; and invade Belgium.*—IV. *Third project: to begin offensive operations on the fifteenth of June, and in case of not succeeding, to draw the enemy under Paris and Lyons.*—*This plan the Emperor adopts.*

I. THE Emperor, on the night of his arrival at Paris, commanded General Excelmans, to pursue, at the head of 3,000 cavalry, the military household of the King, and either to take, disperse, or promptly drive them beyond the frontier. But it was composed of such heterogeneous materials that it dispersed of itself. What remained of them were in part surrounded and disarmed at Bethune, the other part pro-

ceeded as for Neuve Eglise, where the Count d'Artois disbanded them. General Excelmans seized on all the horses, magazines, and baggage of this corps. The officers and guards, beset on all sides by the country people, threw off their uniforms, and assumed various disguises, to escape the popular indignation. A few days after Count Reille entered Flanders with 12,000 men, to reinforce the troops of Count Erlon, garrisoning that frontier. The Emperor was then deliberating, whether with 35 or 36,000 men he should commence hostilities on the first of April, by marching on Brussels, and rallying the Belgic army under his standard. The English and Prussian armies, were weakened, scattered, without order, without commanders, and without any plan of action. Part of the officers were on furlough. The Duke of Wellington was at Vienna, and Mareshal Blucher at Berlin. The French army might march to Brussels by the second of April; but 1st. Hopes of peace were cherished. France desired it, and would have highly censured a premature offensive movement. 2d. To assemble 35 or 36,000 men it would have been necessary to abandon the twenty-three fortified places from Calais to Philippeville, forming the triple line of the north.

If the public spirit of this frontier had been as good as that of Alsace, of the Voges, of Ardennes, or the Alps, this would not have been of much consequence ; but the inhabitants of Flanders were divided in their opinion. The local national guards could not therefore be trusted to garrison them. It would require a month to raise and march, from the neighbouring departments, the elite of the national guards, to replace the troops of the line. 3d. In fine, the Duke of Angouleme was marching towards Lyons, and the troops of Marseilles on Grenoble. The first news of the commencement of hostilities would have encouraged the discontented. It was first of all essentially necessary to expel the Bourbons from the empire, and to rally the French people. This did not take place until the twentieth of April. (*See the pieces at the end of this work.*)

II. During the month of May, when France was tranquillised, and every hope of preserving the external peace of the country had vanished, the armies of different powers being on their march to the frontiers of France, the Emperor meditated on the plan of campaign to be adopted. Three presented

themselves. The first to remain on the defensive, leaving to the allies the odium of aggression, engage them in our fortified places, and having penetrated to Paris and Lyons, upon these two bases to commence a vigorous and decisive war. This plan had many advantages : 1st. The allies would not be ready to take the field before the fifteenth of July ; they could not arrive before Paris and Lyons until the fifteenth of August. The first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth corps, the four corps of cavalry, and the guards, would concentrate at Paris. These corps counted, on the fifteenth, 140,000 men under arms : on the fifteenth of August they would have consisted of 240,000. The first corps of observation of Jura, and the seventh army corps would concentrate at Lyons. They contained on the fifteenth of June 25,000 men, under arms ; on the fifteenth of August they would have consisted of 60,000. 2d. The fortifications of Paris and Lyons would have been finished and completed by the fifteenth of August. 3d. Then there would have been time to complete the organization and equipment of the forces destined for the defence of Paris and Lyons, to reduce the national guards of Paris, to quadruple the riflemen of that ca-

pital, by augmenting them to 60,000 men. These battalions of riflemen being officered from the line, would be of great service. These joined to 6,000 cannoniers of the line, of the marine, and of the national guards, and to the 40,000 men of the depots of the seventy regiments of infantry, and of the ununiformed guards, belonging to the army corps near Paris, would raise the force destined to guard the intrenched camp of Paris to 116,000 men. At Lyons the garrison would be composed of 4,000 national guards, 12,000 riflemen, 2,000 cannoniers, and 7,000 men belonging to the depots of the eleven regiments of infantry near Lyons. Total 25,000 men. 4th. The armies of the enemy penetrating towards Paris from the north and east, would be obliged to leave 150,000 men before the forty-two fortified places, on those two frontiers. Estimating the force of these hostile armies at 600,000 men, they would be reduced to 450,000 on their arrival before Paris. The allied armies penetrating towards Lyons, would be obliged to set down in sufficient force before the ten frontier fortifications of Jura and the Alps. Supposing them 150,000 men, on their investment of Lyons they would scarcely have 100,000. 5th. The national

crisis having attained its height, would excite great energy in Normandy and Bretagne, Auvergne, Berry, &c. Numerous battalions would daily arrive at Paris. Every thing would be augmenting on the side of France, and diminishing on the part of the allies. 6th. 240,000 men, manœuvring on the two shores of the Seine and Marne, under the command of the Emperor, and protected by the vast intrenched camp of Paris, guarded by 116,000 stationary troops, would finally defeat 450,000 enemy. 60,000 men, commanded by Marechal Suchet, manœuvring on both shores of the Rhone and Soane, protected by the works of Lyons, defended by 25,000 stationary troops, would overcome the army of the enemy, and the sacred cause of the country would triumph.

III. The second plan was to commence hostilities before the enemy could be prepared. Now it being impossible for the allies to commence hostilities before the fifteenth of July; it would be necessary to take the field on the fifteenth of June, and to defeat the English and Prussian armies in Belgium, before the armies of Russia, Austria, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, &c. had arrived on the Rhine. On the fif-

teenth of June, an army of 140,000 men could be assembled in Flanders, leaving a chain of posts along all the frontiers, and good garrisons in the fortresses.

1st. If the English and Prussian armies should be beaten, Belgium would rise, and her armies would recruit those of France. 2d. The defeat of the English army would be the downfall of the British ministry, who would be replaced by friends to peace, to liberty, and to the independence of nations. This circumstance alone would terminate the war. 3d. If this should not be the case, the army, victorious in Belgium, and strengthened by the fifth army corps, which remained in Alsace, and by the recruits from the depots during the months of June and July, would march towards the Voges against the Russian and Austrian army. 4th. The advantages of this plan were many. It conformed to the genius of the nation; to the spirit and principles of this war. It would remedy the dreadful inconvenience attached to the first project, that of abandoning Flanders, Picardy, Artois, Alsace, Lorraine, Champaign, Burgundy, Franche Compté, and Dauphiny, without firing a musket. But was it possible with 140,000 men to defeat the two armies covering Belgium, namely, the

English army, consisting of 104,000 men under *arma** (*See the estimate G*); and the Prussian army of 120,000 men, making together 224,000 men. The strength of these armies ought not to be valued by a comparison of the numbers 224,000 with 140,000, because the armies of the allies were composed of troops of different degrees of worth. An Englishman might be equal to a Frenchman, two Hollanders, Prussians, or confederation men to one Frenchman. The enemy's armies were cantoned under the command of two different generals, and were composed of the individuals of nations, differing in opinion and interest:

IV. The month of May passed in these meditations. The insurrection of La Vendee weakened the army of Flanders 20,000 men, reducing it to 120,000. This was an unfortunate occurrence, and lessened the chance of success. But the war in La Vendee might extend; the allies, masters of several provinces, might rally partizans for the Bourbons.

* N. B. Not comprising the fourteen English regiments part disembarked at Ostend, from America, part garrisoning the fortresses in Belgium.

Although the people of France were averse to those Princes, yet the march of an army to Paris and Lyons would be favourable to them. On the other side, Belgium, and the four departments of the Rhine, most earnestly invited their deliverer. There was also some understanding in the Belgic army. This determined the Emperor to adopt a third plan, which was to attack the English and Prussian army on the fifteenth of June, to separate and to defeat them, and if he failed, to employ his army at Paris and Lyons. It must be acknowledged that the army, after having been repulsed in Belgium, would return weakened to Paris; that the occasion would be lost of reducing the national guards of Paris from 36,000 to 8,000, and of augmenting the riflemen to 60,000; for this could not be done in the absence of the Emperor, and during war. It must also be said, that the allies, who of themselves would not commence hostilities before the 15th of July, would be urged on to it by the first of July, if attacked in June. Their march towards Paris would also be much more rapid after a victory; and moreover, the army of Flanders, reduced to 120,000, was inferior by 90,000 men to that of Mareshal Blucher, and of Wellington. But in

1814, France with 40,000 men, faced the army commanded by Mareshal Blucher, and that commanded by Prince Schwartzenberg, and where the two Emperors and the King of Prussia were present. These armies united amounted to 250,000 men. She had often beaten them!! At the battle of Montmirail, the corps of Sacken, of Yorck, and of Kleis, amounted to 40,000 men; they were attacked, defeated, and driven beyond the Marne by 16,000 Frenchmen, namely, the foot and horse guards, the division Ricard of 1150 men, and a division of cuirassiers. Mareshal Blucher, with 20,000 men, was kept in check by the corps of Marmont of 4,000 men; as was also the army of Schwartzenberg of 100,000 men, by the corps of Macdonald, Oudinot, and Girard, being altogether less than 18,000 men.

The Duke of Dalmatia was appointed Major-General of the army. On the second of June he issued the following order of the day, and immediately left Paris to visit the fortresses of Flanders and the army:

“The most august ceremony has just consecrated
“our institutions. The Emperor has received from
“the delegates of the people, and the deputations of

“all the corps of the army, the expressions of the
“voice of the whole nation on the additional act to
“the constitutions of the empire, which had been
“sent for his acceptance. A new oath unites France
“to the Emperor. Thus are the destinies accom-
“plished, and all the effects of an impious league can
“no longer separate the interests of a great people
“from that of the hero who, by his brilliant victories,
“has been the admiration of the universe.

“It is at the time when the national good will ma-
“nifest itself with so much energy, that the cries of
“war are heard. It is at the moment when France
“is at peace with all Europe, that foreign armies ad-
“vance on our frontiers: what are the intentions of
“this new coalition? do they mean to erase France
“from the rank of nations? do they intend to plunge
“into slavery twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen?
“Have they forgotten the first league formed against
“our independence, served to our aggrandisement
“and glory? A hundred distinguished victories,
“which momentary reverses and unfortunate circum-
“stances could not efface, ought to recal to them
“that a free nation, conducted by a great man, is in-
“vincible.

“ Every one is a soldier in France when it is a
“ question of national honour or liberty. A common
“ interest now unites Frenchmen. The obligations
“ violence forced us into are annulled by the flight of
“ the Bourbons from France, by the appeal they have
“ made to foreign armies for assistance to remount
“ the throne they have abandoned, and by the unani-
“ mous voice of the nation, who, in resuming the
“ free exercise of their rights, have solemnly dis-
“ avowed all that has been done without their partici-
“ pation.

“ France cannot receive laws from foreigners.
“ Those who have gone to request a parricidal assis-
“ tance will not be long before they learn and expe-
“ rience, as well as their predecessors, that contempt
“ and infamy follows their steps, and that they can
“ only efface the opprobrium that attaches to them by
“ returning in our ranks.

“ A new career of glory is now before the army.
“ History will make distinguished mention of the
“ military deeds, which have gained renown for the
“ defenders of their country and national honour. It
“ is said our enemies are numerous, but what is that?
“ It will be the more glorious to conquer them ; and

“ their defeat will shed the more lustre on our arms.
“ The contest commencing is not beyond the genius
“ of Napoleon, nor our forces. Do we not behold
“ the departments rivalling each other in devotion to
“ the cause, and forming, as if by enchantment, five
“ hundred brave battalions of national guards, who
“ already have come to double our ranks, to defend
“ our fortresses, and to participate in the glory of the
“ army? It is the high excitement of the attachment
“ of a generous people, that no power can conquer,
“ and that posterity will admire. To arms!

“ Soon the signal will be given for every one to be
“ at his post. Our victorious phalanxes will derive
“ the greater renown from the number of our ene-
“ mies. Soldiers! Napoleon directs us. We fight
“ for the independence of our fine country. We are
“ invincible.”

CHAPTER IV.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN OF JUNE, 1815.

- I. *State and position of the French army on the evening of the 14th of June.*—II. *State and position of the English and Prussian army.*—III. *Manœuvres and combats of the fifteenth.*—IV. *Position of the belligerent armies on the night of the fifteenth, sixteenth.*

I. THE fourth corps, commanded by Count *Gerard*,* left Metz on the sixth of June, crossed the Meuse, and arrived on the fourteenth at Philippeville.

* Lieutenant-General Count *Gerard* commanded the fourth corps. Lieutenant-General Count Girard commanded the third division of the second corps. To prevent confusion we will give the title of Count to General *Gerard*, and designate his name in italics. The denomination of General will be applied General Girard, and his name given in Roman characters.

Count Belliard took the command of Metz, and of the frontier of Sarre. He carefully masked the movements of the fourth corps, by occupying the frontier with detachments of the battalions of the elite of national guards, detailed from the garrisons of Metz, Longwy, Sarre Louis, &c. and of the free corps, raised in those departments, that were uniformed and organized. The imperial guards marched from Paris on the eighth of June towards Avesne. The first corps left the vicinity of Lille, and the second Valenciennes, for positions between Maubeuge and Avesne. The garrisons of all the fortresses from Dunkirk masked this movement by occupying the passes with strong detachments; so that, at the time the cantonments of this frontier were concentrating, the outposts were tripled; and the enemy, deceived, supposed the whole army was assembled on the left. The sixth corps marched from Laon upon Avesne. The four corps of cavalry concentrated on the Sambre. The Emperor left Paris on the morning of the twelfth, breakfasted at Soissons, slept at Laon, gave his last orders respecting the stores and defences of that place, and arrived at Avesne on the thirteenth. On the evening of the fourteenth the army formed

three encampments; the left, more than 40,000 men strong, comprising the first and second corps, encamped on the right bank of the Sambre, at Ham-sur-heure, and at Solze-sur-Sambre; the centre, amounting to upwards of 60,000, and composed of the third and sixth corps, of the imperial guards, and of the reserve of cavalry, at Beaumont, where the head quarters were also located; the right, exceeding 15,000 men, formed of the fourth corps, and a division of cuirassiers, in advance of Philippeville. The encampments were established in the rear of hills, a league from the frontier, so that the smoke of our fires might not be perceived by the enemy, who in reality knew nothing of our position. By the returns, on the evening of the fourteenth, the army amounted to 122,400 men and 350 pieces of cannon, namely:

| <i>Left wing on the right bank of the Sambre.</i> | | <i>Centre at Beaumont.</i> | <i>Right wing in advance of Philippeville.</i> | |
|---|--|---|--|--|
| 1st Corps { 19,800 Infantry, 1,400 Cavalry, 1,564 Art. Engin. Equip. (46 pieces.) 2d Corps { 17,600 Infantry, 1,400 Cavalry, 1,564 Art. Engin. Equip. (46 pieces.) | 3d Corps { 13,200 Infantry, 1,400 Cavalry, 1,292 Art. Eng. Equip. (38 pieces.) 6th Corps { 9,900 Infantry, 1,400 Cavalry, 1,292 Art. Eng. Equip. (38 pieces.) Imperial Guards { 12,000 Infantry, 4,000 Cavalry, 2,400 Art. Eng. Equip. (96 pieces.) 1st Corps { 2,500 Cavalry, 300 Artillery Equip. (12 pieces.) 2d Corps { 2,500 Cavalry, 300 Artillery Equip. (12 pieces.) 3d Corps { 300 Cavalry, 300 Artillery Equip. (12 pieces.) 4th Corps { 1,900 Cavalry, 150 Artillery Equip. (12 pieces.) Grand park troops, Artillery, Engineers, Mil. Equipage. } 5,600 Reserve of Cavalry. | 4th Corps { 12,100 Infantry, 1,400 Cavalry, 1,292 Art. Eng. Equip. (38 pieces.) Cavalry detached from the 4th Corps of the Reserve Cavalry, } 1,400 Cavalry, 150 Artill. Equip. (6 pieces.) | Total force 16,642 men. | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| Total force - - 43,328 men | | | | |
| | | Infantry. Cavalry. Artillery, Engineer, Military Equipage. | | |
| Left wing . . . 37,400 | | 2,800 | 3,128 | |
| Centre . . . 35,100 | | 16,000 | 11,634 | |
| Right wing . . . 12,000 | | 2,800 | 1,442 | |
| Total of the army 84,600 | | 31,600 | 16,204* (See the note.) | |
| Grand Total . . . 122,404 men and 350 pieces of cannon. | | | | |

On the same evening the Emperor addressed the army in the following order of the day :

“Soldiers ! This day is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo and Friedland. Then, as at Aus-

* N. B. The cannoniers, and soldiers of the artillery train, the pontoniers, the sappers and miners, the soldiers of the wagon train, that is, those who are employed in transporting provisions, and the requisites of an army, are comprised in this return ; all being enrolled in France. The grooms and postillions of the officers, not being engaged by the state, are not comprised therein. Fifteen years ago the artillery drivers, the wagoners, &c. were not included in the returns, being neither paid nor clothed by the state, but by the contractors. This made a difference of a twentieth in the returns, so that an army of 120,000 men would only have been returned 114,000. This is the case with the English. *An English army returning 114,000 men, would really be 120,000. In this army there were forty-six men of the artillery and of engineers for each piece of ordnance, comprising the military equipage and train of both ; that is thirty-four men for each piece were with the army, and twelve with the park. The staff of the artillery, the staff of the engineers, cannoniers of the pieces, the artillery drivers, the sappers, miners, and workmen, and two companies of the wagon train attached to each army corps are comprised in the first number. The pontoniers, with their equipage of pontoons, the workmen of the park, the

“terlitz and at Wagram, we were too generous. We
“put faith in the protestations and oaths of princes,
“whom we left on their thrones. But to day, allied
“together, they are arrayed against the independence,
“and the most sacred rights of France. They have
“commenced the most unjust aggression. Are not
“they, are not we, any more the same men ?

“Soldiers of Jena ! against these same Prussians,
“to-day so arrogant, you were one to two, and at
“Montmirail one to three.

“Let those among you who have been captives to
“the English, describe their prison ships, and the
“evils they have suffered.

“Saxons, Belgians, Hanoverians and the soldiers of
“the confederation all extremely regret, that they are
“forced to lift their arms in the cause of princes, ene-
“mies of justice, and of the rights of the people.

soldiers of the train attached to double provisioning,
to the caissons, and other vehicles belonging to the park,
the reserve of sappers and miners, the workmen of the
engineers, and the men belonging to the wagon train
companies, of the reserve of military equipage, are in-
cluded in the second number. So that this army of
120,000 men, did not really consist of more than 114,000
combatants, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

“They know this coalition to be insatiable! After
“it has swallowed up twelve millions of Polanders,
“twelve millions of Italians, a million of Saxons, six
“millions of Belgians, it will destroy the German
“states of the second order.

“Madmen! a moment of prosperity has blinded
“them. The oppression and humiliation of the
“French people is out of their power! If they enter
“France, they will there find their graves.

“Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, bat-
“tles to fight, and perils to encounter; but, with firm-
“ness, victory will be ours. The rights, the honour
“of the country will be reconquered.

“For all Frenchmen of courage, the time has ar-
“rived to conquer or die.”

II. On the fourteenth the enemy were, without any apprehension, in their cantonments. The Prussian army formed the left, and the English army the right. The first, commanded by Marshal Blucher, amounted to 120,000 men, namely, 85,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, 15,000 artillery, engineers and military baggage; and had three hundred pieces of cannon. It

was divided into four corps. The first, commanded by General Zieten, rested on the English cantonments, bordered on the Sambre, and had Charleroy for its head-quarters, and Fleurus for the point of concentration. The second, under the orders of General Pirch, was cantoned, on the frontier, in the environs of Namur, its point of concentration. The third, under the command of General Thielmar, stretched along the Meuse to the environs of Dinant. Its point of concentration was Ciney. The fourth corps, commanded by General Bulow, was stationed in the rear of the three first. Its head-quarters was at Liege. Half a day was required to assemble each corps. The army was to form a junction behind Fleurus. The first corps was there already; the second, at Namur, was eight leagues distant; the third, at Ciney, fourteen leagues; and the fourth, at Ham, sixteen. The head-quarters of Marshal Blucher was at Namur, distant sixteen leagues from that of the Duke of Wellington, who was at Brussels.

The English army, under the orders of the Duke of Wellington, was composed of twenty-four brigades, of which nine were English, ten

German,* five from Holland and the Low Countries ;
of eleven divisions of cavalry, formed from sixteen
English regiments, nine German† and six Holland.

* Namely: 2 German Legions in the pay of England

5 Hanoverians

1 of Nassau

2 of Brunswick

10

† Namely: 5 German Legions

3 Hanoverians

1 of Brunswick

9

The strength of the army amounted to 104,200 men, viz :

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|---|---|
| English | 37,000 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 22,000 \text{ infantry} \\ 10,000 \text{ cavalry} \\ 5,000 \text{ artillery, engineers, baggage train} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 16,000 \text{ Hanoverians} \\ 6,000 \text{ German Legion} \\ 4,000 \text{ Nassau} \end{array} \right.$ |
| Germans | 42,000 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 32,000 \text{ infantry} \\ 6,800 \text{ cavalry} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 6,000 \text{ Brunswickers} \\ 2,000 \text{ Hanoverians} \\ 3,000 \text{ German Legion} \\ 1,800 \text{ Brunswickers} \end{array} \right.$ |
| Hollanders & Flemings | 25,000 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3,200 \text{ artillery, engineers, baggage train} \\ 19,000 \text{ infantry} \\ 3,000 \text{ cavalry} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3,000 \text{ artillery, engineers, baggage train} \\ 73,000 \text{ infantry} \\ 20,000 \text{ cavalry} \end{array} \right.$ |
| Total of the army | | | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 11,200 \text{ artillery, having 250 pieces of ordnance, engineers, baggage train.} \end{array} \right.$ |

Grand Total . 104,200 men, not comprising eight English regiments, disembarked at Ostend, from America; besides an English regiment at Nieuport, a battalion of

veterans at Ostend, and the ninth, twenty-fifth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-seventh English regiments, in the fortresses of the Belgic frontiers, where considerable bodies of militia had assembled. The nine English brigades, the five Hanoverian, and the two brigades of the German Legion, formed six divisions, denominated English. The five Holland brigades, with that of Nassau, constituted three, called Belgic; the troops of Brunswick composed one. These ten divisions were divided into two great corps of infantry. The first was commanded by the Prince of Orange, whose head-quarters was at Braine-le-Comte. It was composed of five divisions, of which two were English, namely, the guards and the third division, and three Belgic. Their points of junction were Enghien, Soignes, Braine-le-Compte, and Nivelles. The second corps was under the orders of Lord Hill, whose head-quarters was at Brussels. It was composed of five divisions, four English and that of Brunswick. Their rallying points were Brussels, Ath, Halle and Gand. Lord Uxbridge commanded the cavalry. Grammont was his point of rendezvous. The general park was cantoned round Gand. It required half a day for each division to march to its

rallying point. The army was to concentrate at Quatre Bras, in order to be two leagues on the right of the Prussians. The head-quarters of the Prince of Orange was six leagues distant from Quatre Bras, Nivelles two and a half, Enghien thirteen, Soignes eleven, Brussels, the principal head-quarters of the army, eight, Gand seventeen, Grammont thirteen, Ath thirteen. Two entire days were therefore required for both armies to form their united line of battle. Together, their force would be 224,200 men, namely :

| English. | Prussians. | | | |
|--|------------|---------|-------------------|---|
| Infantry 73,000 | 85,000 | 158,000 | } 224,200 men. | { Without counting 14 English regiments either at Ostend or in the for- tresses. |
| Cavalry 20,000 | 20,000 | 40,000 | | |
| Artillery 11,200 | 15,000 | 26,200 | | |
| Ordnance 255 pieces, 288 pieces, 545 pieces. | | | | |

In the night of the fourteenth,—fifteenth, the spies on their return to the head-quarters of the French army at Beaumont, announced that all was quiet at Namur, Brussels, and Charleroy. This was a fortunate presage. The concealment of the movements of the French army, for two days, was, in itself, a great point gained. The Prussian army was already forced either to throw its point of junction more in the rear of Fleurus, or to receive battle in that position, where the English could not assist them. The

characters of the two commanding generals was very different. The partisan habits of Marshal Blucher, his activity, and daring character, formed a great contrast to the circumspection and slow marches of the Duke of Wellington. If the Prussian army were not first attacked, it would be more alert and expeditious to succour the English army, than this last would be to reinforce Marshal Blucher. All the operations of Napoleon tended towards the attacking of the Prussians in the first instance.

III. At day break on the fifteenth of June, the three French columns commenced their march. The advance guard of the left, composed of the division of Prince Jerome, of the second corps, on leaving its encampments, fell in with the advanced guard of the Prussian corps of General Zieten; it encountered and repulsed it, took possession of the bridge of Marchiennes, and made five hundred prisoners. The Prussian advance rallied on Charleroy. The cavalry corps of General Pajol, forming the advance guard of the centre, was in motion by three in the morning. It was to be supported by General Vandamme's corps of infantry. From Beaumont to Charleroy there

were no causeries over the bad crossings where defiles are continually met with. The third corps was encamped a league and a half on the right of Beaumont. At six in the morning Count Vandamme was still in his camp, although he should have left it at the time the cavalry did. The emperor having perceived, it advanced with his guards, and entered Charleroy at noon, preceded by the light cavalry of General Pajol, who were pursuing the enemy sword in hand. The corps of General Vandamme did not arrive there until three o'clock in the afternoon. The right, commanded by Count *Gerard*, got possession of the bridge of Chatelet, at an early hour. All the columns arrived in the evening. From Charleroy to Brussels is fourteen leagues. A paved road leads to it, though Gosselies, Trasne, Quartre Bras, Genappe and Waterloo : at the distance of five hundred toises from Charleroy another artificial road takes to the right, through Gilly to Namur, eight leagues distant from Charleroy. Zieten's corps, informed by the hussars, of the movement of the French army, hastily evacuated Charleroy, by these two routes. One division retired by the road to Brussels, and halted at Gosselies : the other took the route to Namur, and

halted at Gilly. General Pajol followed the enemy, on the route to Namur. General Clary, with a brigade of hussars, followed them on that to Brussels. The troops skirmished on both these roads. General Clary not being sufficiently strong, was supported by General Lefebvre Desnouettes, with the light cavalry of the guards, and his two divisions of artillery. Duhesme's division of young foot guards, were placed in reserve in rear of Pajol's cavalry. A regiment was detached from it to take post midway between Charleroy and Gosselies, acting as a reserve to the cavalry of General Lefebvre Desnouettes. Count Reille crossed the Sambre on the bridge of Marchiennes, and marched towards Gosselies, there to take the road to Brussels, and push on as far as Quatre Bras. General Count Erlon received orders to support General Reille. As soon as Marshal Grouchy opened on Charleroy with the reserve of cavalry, and followed by the third army corps, he took the route to Gilly, which General Zieten evacuated to take position between Gilly and Fleurus, protected by a piece of woods. General Reille got possession of Gosselies after a slight resistance. Marshal Ney had just arrived on the field of battle. The Empe-

ror immediately ordered him to Gosselies, there to take command of all the left, composed of the first and second corps of Lefebvre Desnouettes, the division of cavalry, and of the cavalry corps of General Kellerman, amounting together to 47,800 men, to scour the road from Gosselies towards Brussels, to take post on it, beyond Quatre Bras, and to keep possession in a military manner, by having strong advanced guards on the route to Brussels, Namur, and Nivelles. The division of General Zieten's corps, which had defended Gosselies, retired by a movement on their left toward Fleurus. General Reille ordered the third division, commanded by General Girard, to follow it; and with his cavalry and three other divisions, marched towards Quatre Bras. Prince Bernard of Saxe commanded a brigade of 4,000 men, of Nassau troops, this was the second of the third Belgic division. As soon as he heard the report of cannon on the side of Charleroy, and was informed of the retreat of Zieten, he marched towards Frasne, and there posted himself 1000 toises in advance of Quatre Bras, on the road to Brussels. General Lefebvre Desnouettes, after a slight cannonade, by making a demonstration of turning his position,

and cutting him off from Quatre Bras, forced him to retire. He took station between Quatre Bras, and Genappe. Count Reille was marching without any obstruction to encamp in advance of Quatre Bras, when he was joined by Marshal Ney, who having heard a cannonading in the direction of Fleures, and received the report of General Girard, that a considerable force was in that direction, thought it prudent to take position, having his advance guard at Frasne, and videttes placed towards Quatre Bras.

The corps of Vandamme and of Grouchy, having united at Gilly, deceived by false reports, lost two hours, in post, supposing there were 200,000 Prussians in the rear of the woods, and in advance of Fleurus. The Emperor himself reconnoitred the enemy, and judging that the woods covered only two divisions of the corps of Zieten, of 18 or 20,000 men, he gave immediate order to advance. The enemy retreated, and were briskly pursued. A charge of four squadrons, commanded by General Letort, broke through two squares, and destroyed the twenty-eighth Prussian regiment : but the intrepid Letort received a mortal wound. This general was one of the most distinguished cavalry officers ; none more brave ;

nor possessed in a greater degree the art of exciting a charge, and electrifying both men and horses. His voice and example made the most timid brave. At night the corps of Vandamme and Grouchy took post in the woods of Trichenage and Lambusart, near Fleurus.

IV. During the night of the fifteenth, sixteenth, the head quarters of the French were located at Charleroy. Marshal Blucher's at Namur. The Duke of Wellington's at Brussels. The first Prussian army corps, under the command of General Zieten, weakened by the loss of 2,000 men, concentrated on the heights in rear of Fleurus, occupying that village by a detachment. The second corps, which had rallied at Namur, was all night on the march to join the first, at Sombref. The third corps assembled in part at Namur, and in part at Ciney. The first marched all night for Sombref, where it arrived on the morning of the sixteenth; it was impossible for the second part to be there before the afternoon of the same day, pending the battle. The fourth corps, commanded by General Bulow, not having received orders for concentration until late, and,

considering the distance, could not be on its route until the sixth. It did not enter Gembloux, two leagues distant from Sombref, until the night of the sixteenth, seventeenth, after the loss of the battle.

On the fifteenth, at seven o'clock in the evening, the Duke of Wellington was informed, by a courier from Marshal Blucher, that hostilities had commenced, that a strong French reconnaissance had put to the sword some of his out-posts. This appeared to him to require nothing more, than an order for his line to be on their guard. At eleven o'clock at night, a second courier from Marshal Blucher, announced to him that the French had entered Charleroy at eleven on the fifteenth, and were marching in line towards Brussels, that the whole line between Marchiennes, Charleroy and Chatelet, was broken and covered with troops, that the French army was 150,000 men strong, and the Emperor at their head. He immediately issued orders for the breaking up of the cantonments, and for each division to concentrate at its assigned place, and there to await further orders. The third Belgian division, which alone of the English army, occupied cantonments within six leagues of Quatre Bras, was competent to arrive there in

in the morning of the sixteenth. Four other divisions within the distance of nine leagues, might be there by the evening of the same day : But the remainder of the army, distant about 12, 13, 14, 17 and 19 leagues, could not concentrate there until the night of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the following day. The artillery and cavalry were also in this situation. But when united at Quatre Bras, the English army would be two leagues distant from Fleurus. At Brussels the drums beat the signal to arms on the night of the fifteenth, sixteenth. The Brunswick division, and the fifth English division, there, were on their march to Quatre Bras, in the morning.

The French army passed the night in three columns. The left, commanded by Marshal Ney, had its head quarters at Gosselies, its videttes upon Quatre Bras, and its advanced guard at Frasne ; the second corps, attached to it, was between Frasne and Gosselies, having in advance General Girard's division to its right on the road to Fleurus ; its first corps was in column from Marchiennes to Gosselies. The centre, composed of the reserve of cavalry and the third corps, was in the woods between Fleurus and Charleroy ; the guards were in column on the road

from Charleroy to Gilly ; and the sixth corps in advance of Charleroy. The third column, forming the right, was in advance of the bridge of Chatelet. The whole army was thus united, having crossed the Sambre by three bridges : the left on that of Marchiennes, distant 2,000 toises from that of Charleroy, upon which the centre had crossed, and it was 3,000 toises from the bridge of Chatelet, over which the right had passed. The French lay under arms during the night of the fifteenth, sixteenth, in a square of four leagues. It was equally competent to bear on the Prussians or English. It was already placed between them. The two armies of the enemy were surprised, and their communications with each other very much interrupted. All the movements of the Emperor had succeeded to his wish. He had it now in his power to attack the opposed armies in detail. There was no alternative left them to avert the dreadful evil, unless to give up the ground, and to unite their forces at Brussels, or beyond it.

CHAPTER V.

BATTLE OF LIGNY.

I. *March of the French army to attack the Prussians.*

—II. *Battle of Ligny on the sixteenth of June.*—

III. *Engagement at Quatre Bras, on the same day.*

—IV. *Positions of the armies in the night of the sixteenth, seventeenth.*—V. *Their operations on the*

seventeenth.—VI. *Their positions in the night of the seventeenth, eighteenth.*

I. IN the night, Marshal Ney received orders to march on the sixteenth, at day-break, in advance of Quatre Bras, to take a strong position on the road to Brussels, guarding the roads to Nivelles and Namur, by his flankers of the right and left. Count Flahaut, aid-de-camp-general, carried these orders, and remained all day with the Marshal. The division of General Girard, the third of the second corps, which was lying in observation opposite Fleures, received

orders to remain in its position; it being to act under the immediate command of the Emperor; who, with the centre and right of his army, marched to attack the Prussian army, before its fourth corps, under the orders of General Bulow, could come up, and before the English army should have assembled on its right.

The riflemen met at the village of Fleurus; but, after a few discharges of cannon, those of the enemy fell back on their army, which was then perceived to be in order of battle; their left, on the village of Sombref, occupying the road of Namur; their centre, at the village of Ligny; their right on the village of St. Amand; their reserve occupied a line of 3000 toises, on the heights of the windmill of Bry. The French army halted, and formed. It was ten o'clock in the morning. The third corps was in advance of Fleurus, having the division of Girard on its left 1200 toise distant; the fourth corps formed the centre. Marshal Grouchy, with the cavalry of Pajol and Excelmans, composed the right. The guards, infantry, artillery, and Milhaud's corps of cuirassiers, formed a second line, on the ridge, commanding the plain behind Fleurus.

The Emperor, with a small retinue, rode along the chain of videttes, ascended the heights and the windmills, and perfectly ascertained the position of the enemy's army. It certainly consisted of a force exceeding 80,000 men; its front was covered by a deep ravine; its right was in the wind. The line of battle was perpendicular to the road of Namur, and to Quatre Bras; and, in a direction, from the village of Sombref to Gosselies. The point of Quatre Bras was perpendicular to the rear of the middle of the line. It is evident that Marshal Blucher did not expect to be attacked on this day. He supposed he should have time to complete the concentration of his army, and to be supported on his right by the English army, which was to open on Quatre Bras, by the roads of Brussels and Nivelles, on the seventeenth.

An officer of the staff of the left wing brought intelligence, that as Marshal Ney was on the point of marching to the position, in advance of Quatre-Bras, he was stopped by hearing a cannonade on his left flank, and by reports brought him that the two English and Prussian armies had already effected their junction, in the environs of Fleurus; that, in this

state of affairs, should he continue his march, he would be turned; that he was ready to execute any orders the Emperor should send him, on being informed of this new incident. The Emperor blamed him for having already lost eight hours; what he termed a new occurrence had existed since the evening before: he reiterated the order, to march in advance of Quatre Bras; and that, as soon as he had taken post, to detach a column of 8000 infantry, with the cavalry division of Lefebvre Desnouettes, and twenty-eight pieces of cannon, by the road leading from Quatre Bras to Namur; and at the village of Marchais to leave this road to attack the heights of Bry, in rear of the enemy. Exclusive of this detachment, the Marshal would have, at his position of Quatre Bras, 32,000 men, and eighty pieces of ordnance.* These were sufficient to keep in check

* Strength of the left wing at day break on the 16th.

| | Infantry. | Cavalry. | Artillery. | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|----------|------------|-----|
| 2d Corps, 3 Divisions, . . . | 16,000 | 1,400 | 1,292 | 38 |
| 1st Corps, 4 Divisions . . . | 16,500 | 1,400 | 1,564 | 46 |
| Cuirassiers, Kellerman's . . . | " | 3,000 | 300 | 12 |
| Guard, Lefebvre Desnouettes' | " | 2,000 | 300 | 12 |
| | 32,500 | 7,800 | 3,456 | 108 |

43,756 men, 108 ps. ord.

| | | |
|------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Detachment . . . | { Infantry 8,000 Cavalry 2,000 Artillery 844 } | 10,844 men, 28 pieces ord. |
|------------------|--|----------------------------|

the divisions of the English army, that would arrive on that day. Marshal Ney received these orders at half past eleven. He was then with his advanced guard near Frasne. At noon he ought to have taken his position in advance of Quatre Bras. Now from this place to the heights of Bry is 4000 toises; the column detached to the rear of Marshal Blücher, should therefore be at the village of Marchais before two o'clock. The line occupied by the army near Fleurus was inactive, and part of it was masked; the Prussians seemed under no apprehension.

II. At two o'clock the Emperor ordered a change of front at Fleurus, the right in advance. This movement placed the third corps at the distance of two cannon shot from St. Amand; the fourth the same distance from Ligny; and the third likewise the same from Sombref. The third division, under General Girard, was drawn up en potence on the extreme right of the Prussian army. The ravine, covering the front of the enemy's position, commenced between the third corps and Girard's division; so that

| | | | |
|-----------------|---|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Remainder . . . | { | Infantry 24,500 | } 31,352 men, 80 pieces ord. |
| | | Cavalry 5,800 | |
| | | Artillery 1,052 | |

N. B. Independent of 5,300 men, with the park at Charleroy.

this division was on the left of the ravine. The guards and Milhaud's cavalry performed the same manœuvre, taking their stations in the second line, 600 toises in rear of the third and fourth corps. The sixth corps, on its march from Charleroy, received orders to hasten, and take post in advance of Fleurus, as a general reserve. Every thing announced the destruction of the Prussian army. Count *Gerard*, having approached the Emperor for instructions respecting the attack of the village of Ligny, the Emperor said to him, "In three hours the fate of the war may be decided. If Ney executes his orders properly, not a cannon of the Prussians will escape. "They are completely surprised."*

At three o'clock in the afternoon the third corps attacked the village of St. Amand. A quarter of an

* The French army at Ligny was 71,000 men strong, and had 240 pieces of ordnance.

| | Infantry. | Cavalry. | Artillery. | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|----------|------------|-----|
| 2d Corps, Girard's Division | 5,000 | " | 270 | 8 |
| 3d Corps | 13,000 | 1,400 | 1,290 | 38 |
| 4th Corps | 12,000 | 1,400 | 1,290 | 38 |
| 6th Corps | 9,500 | 1,400 | 1,290 | 38 |
| Guards | 11,500 | 2,000 | 2,100 | 82 |
| Pajol's Corps of Cavalry | " | 2,500 | 300 | 12 |
| Excelmans' | " | 2,600 | 300 | 12 |
| Milhaud's | " | 3,000 | 300 | 12 |
| | 51,000 | 14,300 | 7,140 | 240 |
| 71,940 men, 240 pieces. | | | | |

hour after, the fourth attacked Ligny. Marshal Grouchy forced the left of the Prussians to fall back. All the positions and houses, on the right of the ravine, were taken, and the enemy driven to the left side of it. The remainder of the third Prussian army corps arrived during the engagement at Sombref; this increased the enemy's strength to 90,000 men. The French army, including the sixth army corps, which was constantly in reserve, amounted to 70,000 men. The village of Ligny was taken and retaken four times. Count *Gerard* particularly distinguished himself there, and displayed as much intrepidity as talent. The attack upon St. Amand was not so obstinate; it was also taken and retaken; but was carried by General Girard, who having received orders to advance by the left of the ravine with his division, manifested there that bravery of character, of which he has given so many examples in his military career. He drove before the points of his bayonets all that opposed his march, and had obtained possession of half the village, when he fell, mortally wounded. The third corps maintained itself in the other part of the village. It was half after five; and the Emperor was manœuvring the infantry of his

guards to march them on Ligny, when General Vandamme brought information that a column of 30,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was advancing on Fleurus; that it was at first taken for the column detached from the left, but besides being much stronger, it came by a different route; that the troops of General Girard had ascertained it to be hostile, and had in consequence abandoned the extremity of the village, and taken position in the woods to cover Fleurus; that the firmness of the third corps itself was shaken, and if the reserve did not arrive to stop this column, it would be obliged to evacuate St. Amand, and retreat. The movement of this column appeared inexplicable. It must have either passed between Marshal Ney and Blucher, or between Charleroy and Quatre Bras, however the report was repeated. The Emperor halted the guards, and sent, with all possible expedition, his aid de camp, General Dejean, a confidential officer, to ascertain the numbers, strength, and intentions of the column. An hour afterwards this pretended English column was discovered to be the first corps, commanded by Count Erlon, and which had been left in reserve, two leagues and a half from Quatre Bras, marching to

support the attack on St. Amand. Girard's division, undeceived, retook its position, and confidence was restored to the third corps. The guards resumed their march on Ligny. General Pecheux, at the head of his division, crossed the ravine. Count *Gerard*, all the guards, infantry, cavalry, and Milhaud's cuirassiers, supported his movement. All the enemy's reserve were driven before our bayonets, and the centre of his line broken. Forty pieces of cannon, eight colours, or standards, and a considerable number of prisoners were the trophies of the day. Marshal Grouchy, and Generals Excelmans and Pajol were distinguished by their intrepidity. Lieutenant General Monthion was directed, in the night, to pursue the left wing of the Prussians. The official reports of the enemy mention 25,000 men, killed, wounded or prisoners, without counting 20,000 men, who disbanded, and plundered the shores of the Meuse to Liege. The guards and the sixth corps sustained no loss. It was considerable in the fourth corps, and in Excelmans' and Pajol's corps of cavalry, but much less in the third. Gerard's division of the second corps sustained the greatest loss. The total

of killed and wounded amounted to 6,950 men.* Several of the enemy's generals were killed or wounded. Marshal Blucher was thrown from his horse by a charge of cuirassiers, under the horses feet, but they followed up their charge without seeing him. Night had set in, and the Marshal escaped, considerably bruised. The disproportion of loss in the Prussian and French armies was occasioned by the French reserve being kept all the time of the battle out of cannon shot, by the third and second corps, forming the first line; being masked by the swells of the ground, while the Prussians were completely exposed from St. Amand and Ligny, to the heights of Bry. Every discharge from the French artillery that missed the first line, struck the reserve ; not a shot but told. General Girard had distinguished himself at the passage of Tesin in 1800. He contributed much to gaining the

* Loss of the French army at Ligny.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-------|--------------|
| 2d corps, Girard's division | - | 1,900 | } 6,950 men. |
| 3d corps | - - - - - | 1,800 | |
| 4th corps | - - - - - | 2,300 | |
| 1st cavalry corps | - - - - - | 200 | |
| 2d ditto | - - - - - | 400 | |
| 4th ditto | - - - - - | 150 | |
| Guards | - - - - - | 200 | |

battle of Lutzen in 1813. He was one of the most intrepid soldiers of the French army. The Emperor, pleased with the conduct of Count *Gerard*, commanding the fourth corps, destined the baton of marshal of the empire for him. He considered him an honour to France.

III. The Prince of Orange, whose head quarters were at Braine-le-Comte, did not receive the orders of the Duke of Wellington to concentrate his troops, until day break. He marched, with the second brigade of the third Belgic division, to Quatre Bras, to support the brigade commanded by Prince Bernard of Saxe, who, after having defended Frasne on the fifteenth, had taken post between Quatre Bras and Genappe. The Prince of Orange remained all the morning with 8 or 9,000 Belgic or Nassau troops, of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, at that important position. He knew that all the cantonments of the English army were broken up, and that they were directing their march by the route of Brussels and Nivelles, towards Quatre Bras. He was aware of the importance of this position, for if the allies should lose it, all their cantonments coming from Nivelles,

could only effect their junction by the cross road, and in rear of Genappe. If, therefore, Marshal Ney had executed his orders, and had marched at day break on the sixteenth, with his 43,000 men,* to Quatre Bras, he would have taken this position, and with his numerous cavalry and light artillery, routed and dispersed the division. Moreover, it would have been in his power to attack the divisions of the English, separately, in their march on the road of Nivelles and Brussels. The Marshal having again received the orders of the Emperor, marched with the three divisions of infantry of the second corps, a division of light cavalry, a division of Kellerman's cuirassiers, in all 16,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and forty-four pieces of ordnance (from 21 to 22,000 men). He left in reserve, in advance of Gosselies, to observe Fleurus, and secure his retreat, the first corps, containing 16,000 infantry, General Lefebvre Desnouette's division of light cavalry, the guards, and a division of Kellerman's cuirassiers, forming together 16,000 infantry, 4,500 cavalry, and sixty-four pieces of ordnance. The riflemen commenced the engagement at two

* See Page 91, a table containing the returns of these 43,756 men.

o'clock, but it was not until three, when the cannonade of the battle of Ligny was heaviest, that he vigorously attacked the enemy. The Prince of Orange's division was soon broken : but it was supported by the Prince of Brunswick's and the fifth English divisions, which arrived in great haste, and disorder. They had neither artillery nor cavalry. These two divisions had left Brussels at ten in the morning, and had marched eight leagues. The combat recommenced with warmth. The enemy had the superiority in numbers, for Marshal Ney's second line was three leagues in the rear, but the French artillery and cavalry were much more numerous. The Brunswick division was repulsed, as well as that of Nassau ; it had a great number killed, among whom was Prince Regnant of Brunswick. The forty-second, a Scotch regiment, of Picton's division, having formed a hollow square, to receive a charge of cuirassiers, was broken, and cut to pieces. Its colonel was killed, and its colours taken. The French riflemen had already reached the farm of Quatre Bras, when the English division of guards, No. 1, and the Alten division, No. 3, arrived, running, on the road of Neville. They were likewise without artillery or

cavalry. It was then Marshal Ney felt the want of his second line. He sent for it, but it was too late : being six o'clock, it could not reach the field of battle until eight. The Marshal, however, kept up the contest with his usual intrepidity. The French troops highly distinguished themselves. The enemy, though double in infantry, yet being very inferior in cavalry and artillery, could make no progress ; and having taken possession of a piece of woods, that flanked the position, they preserved it until night. Marshal Ney took up his head-quarters at Quatre Bras, and formed his line of battle two cannon shot distant from the enemy. He was joined by the first corps, commanded by Count Erlon, whose movement on St. Amand, occasioned a delay of only half an hour. The loss

English army at Quatre Bras, from three in the afternoon to six in the evening.

| | Infant. | Caval. | Artill. |
|---|--------------|-------------|----------|
| 3d Belgic Division - - - - | 8,000 | " | 12 |
| Brunswick Division - - - - | 8,000 | 1,500 | " |
| 5th English, or Picton's - - - | 9,200 | " | " |
| | <hr/> 25,200 | <hr/> 1,500 | <hr/> 12 |
| <i>From six to nine in the evening.</i> | | | |
| As above - - - - | 25,200 | 1,500 | 12 |
| 1st English, or Cook's - - - - | 3,500 | " | " |
| 3d Gen. Alten's - - - - | 8,800 | " | " |
| | <hr/> 37,500 | <hr/> 1,500 | <hr/> 12 |

The remainder of the army, with the artillery and cavalry, arrived in the night of the 17th, 18th.

of the English army is stated in the official returns, to have amounted to 9,000.* The loss of the French was 3,400 men.† This disparity of loss will be easily accounted for, on taking into consideration, that the English army, deprived of artillery and cavalry, were exposed to the grape shot of fifty pieces of cannon, incessantly firing from three o'clock in the afternoon to eight in the evening.

IV. The third French army corps that night rested on its arms, on the field of battle, in advance of St. Amand; the fourth corps in advance of Ligny; Marshal Grouchy at Sombref; the imperial guards on the heights of Bry, the light cavalry having advanced posts to the Namur road; the sixth corps in reserve behind Ligny. Blucher retreated towards Wavres in two columns, the one by Tilly, the other by Gem-

* *Loss of the English army at Quatre Bras.*

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|------------|
| English | - | - | - | - | 2,500 |
| Hanoverians | - | - | - | - | 1,000 |
| Those from Belgium and Nassau | - | - | - | - | 3,000 |
| Brunswickers | - | - | - | - | 2,500 |
| | | | | | <hr/> |
| Total | | | | | 9,000 men. |

† *Loss of the French army at Quatre Bras.*

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1st Corps | - | - | - | - | " |
| 2d Corps | - | - | - | - | 3,000 |
| Kellerman's Cavalry | - | - | - | - | 300 |
| Guards | - | - | - | - | 100 |
| | | | | | <hr/> |
| Total | | | | | 3,400 men. |

bloux, at which place, the fourth corps, commanded by General Bulow, arrived about eleven at night from Liege. The dispersed Prussians covered the country, and committed dreadful ravages. Namur, and the country between the Samber and the Muse, were the victims thereof. The defeat of these oppressors of Belgium, and of the country on the left bank of the Rhine, filled, with joy, the inhabitants of these thirteen departments, who beheld themselves restored to the great family of their affections. The Duke of Wellington passed the night at Quatre Bras; the English troops continued to arrive by the two roads. They were much harassed and fatigued. They had been on their march from the night of the fifteenth to the night of the sixteenth, seventeenth.

V. At day-break General Pajol, with a division of his corps of light cavalry, and the Teste division of infantry of the sixth corps, commenced the pursuit of the Prussian army in the direction of Wavres, by the roads of Tilley and Gembloux. They took a number of wagons and caissons. Marshal Ney received orders to march on Quatre Bras at day-break, and to attack the rear guard of the English briskly.

Count Lobau, with two divisions of the infantry of his corps, his light cavalry, and Milhaud's cuirassiers, marched by the road of Namur towards Quatre Bras, to aid the attack of Marshal Ney, by taking the English in flank. Marshal Grouchy set out with Excelsmans' corps of cavalry and the third and fourth corps of infantry, to support General Pajol, and to follow Blucher sword in hand, in order to prevent his rallying. He had positive orders to keep between the road leading from Charleroy to Brussels, and Blucher, so as to be in constant communication, and in a state to unite with the army. It was probable that Marshal Blucher would retire towards Wavres; his orders directed him to be there at the same time with him. Should the enemy continue his march towards Brussels, and pass the night covered by the forest of Soignes, he was to have followed him to the edge thereof; if he retreated towards the Meuse to cover his communication with Germany, he was to have observed him by the advanced guard of General Pajol, to have occupied Wavres with Excelsmans' cavalry, the third and the fourth corps of infantry, in order to keep up an intercourse with head-quarters, which was marching on the road from Charleroy to

Brussels. The third division of the second corps, which had suffered so much at the battle of Ligny, remained to guard the field of battle, and take care of the wounded. Thus the French army was on its march, in two columns, to Brussels; the one of 69,000, the other of 34,000 men.

The Emperor visited the field of battle and ordered assistance for the wounded. The loss of the Prussians was enormous; six of their corpses were seen for one of the French. A great number of wounded, who had received no assistance, were attended to. All the pages, and several officers, staid to take care of them. Young Gudin, son of the brave general of that name, and who was killed in Russia, at the combat of Valencia, was remarkable for his care and tenderness on this occasion. This sacred duty fulfilled, Napoleon set off in full speed, to arrive at Quatre Bras, at the same time with Count Lobau's cavalry. He overtook it at the village of Marchais; but having got within sight of the farm of Quatre Bras, he perceived it still to be occupied by a corps of English cavalry. Shortly after a reconnoitring party of 100 French hussars came up, being briskly driven

back by an English cavalry regiment. The French cavalry formed; Milhaud's cuirassiers on the right, the light cavalry on the left. The infantry were placed in second line, and the artillery took position. A party of 500 horse was despatched to Frasné, to obtain information from the left. What could be the matter in this camp? It ought to have been on its march at six o'clock in the morning. Arrived at the edge of the woods, the hussars commenced firing; they soon, however, discovered, that what they had taken for English, were the red lancers of the guards. Officers were sent to Ney to urge him to file off for Quatre Bras, and immediately after Count Lobau again formed and marched in advance. An English sutler, who had been taken prisoner, gave information of the movements of their army. The Duke of Wellington did not hear of the disaster at Ligny until late in the night. He immediately ordered a retreat in the direction to Brussels, leaving General Uxbridge, with a corps of cavalry, and some brigades of horse artillery, as a rear guard. General Uxbridge immediately retreated on the sight of Count Lobau's army corps. The Emperor having arrived at the farm of Quatre

Bras, had twelve pieces of cannon put in battery, which engaged with two English batteries. The rain fell in torrents. The troops on the left had not yet commenced their march. The Emperor, impatient at their delay, sent orders directly to the chiefs of corps. At length Count Erlon appeared. He took the head of the column, and made disposition to attack briskly the English rear guard. General Reille, with the second corps, followed him. When Ney arrived, the Emperor manifested his displeasure at his indecision, his delay, and at his having caused the loss of three very precious hours. The Marshal stammered, made an excuse that he thought Wellington was still at Quatre Bras, with all his army. Count Lobau's corps followed the second corps. The guards marched after. Milhaud's cuirassiers, having a division of Pajol's light cavalry, commanded by General Subervie, in advance, formed an intermediate column. The Emperor stationed himself at the head of the army. The weather was dreadful. On the turnpike road the soldiers were half leg deep in water. On the ground they sank knee deep, over which the artillery could not pass, and the cavalry with difficulty.

This rendered the retreat of the enemy's cavalry difficult, and enabled the artillery to annoy them. At six in the evening, the enemy, who until then had only protected his retreat with a few pieces of cannon, dismasked fifteen. The evening was very foggy. It was impossible to distinguish the strength of his rear guard; it had evidently been just reinforced; and as the forest of Soignes was not far off, it was probable he would hold that position during the night. To ascertain this, Milhaud's cuirassiers displayed, and under the protection of the fire of four batteries of horse artillery, made demonstrations of charging. The enemy then dismasked fifty or sixty pieces of cannon; the whole army was there. It would have required two hours more of day-light, to have attacked them. The French army took position in advance of Planchenoit. The head-quarters were stationed at the farm of Cailloux, 2,400 toises from the village of Mount St. Jean.

During this retreat several English cavalry officers were taken prisoners and conducted to the Emperor; many were wounded. He had them dressed by his surgeon, before questioning them; after which he in-

terrogated them on the state of their army, making use of General Flahaut as interpreter. Among these officers was Captain Elphinstone. In traversing the Brussels road, to Quatre Bras, the great loss sustained by the English, was evident, although they had already interred the greater part of their dead.

Marshal Grouchy pursued Blucher by the routes of Mount Guibert and of Gembloux, but reports induced him to believe that the greater part of the Prussian army had retired by Gembloux; he directed the principal part of his force to this point. He arrived there at four o'clock in the evening of the 17th. He there learned that Bulow's corps had entered this place in the night, and had not been present at the battle; that there was great disorder in several of the Prussian army corps; that all the surrounding villages were full of wounded and runaways; that desertion was already very great among the Saxons and Westphalian troops, and even among the Prussians. He sent out reconnoitring parties, in the direction of Wavres and Liege, following the two rear guards of the enemy retiring in those directions. This being done, Grouchy took post. He had only marched two

leagues. Towards evening he received positive information that the principal force of the enemy was moving towards Wavres. It was six o'clock, and the soldiers were preparing their suppers. He judged he would be in time by morning to follow them. They thus gained a march of three hours on him. This fatal resolution was the principal cause of the loss of the battle of Waterloo.

It continued to rain during the night, which made the flat country almost impassable for the artillery and cavalry, and even the infantry. During the day of the seventeenth, and the night of the seventeenth, eighteenth, the flankers on the right of the French army reported, that they were in communication with those of Marshal Grouchy, who was all day in pursuit of Blücher, without any important event occurring. At nine in the evening, General Milhaud, who had marched with his corps to keep up the communications with Grouchy, reported his knowledge of a column of the enemy's cavalry, having been thrown in great haste from Tilly to Wavres. A corps of 2,000 cavalry was marched towards Halle, menacing to turn the right of the forest of Soignes, and to

march towards Brussels. The Duke of Wellington, alarmed, immediately sent thither his fourth division of infantry. The French cavalry returned to camp at night. The English division remained in observation, and was unfitted for duty during the battle.

VI. The Emperor, with the first, second, and sixth corps of infantry, the guards, a division of Pajol's light cavalry, and Milhaud's and Kellerman's cuirassiers, in all 68,906 men, and 242 pieces of ordnance, encamped in advance of Planchenoit, on each side of the road to Brussels, which was four leagues and a half distant. The English army before him was 90,000 men strong, with 255 pieces of ordnance; it had its head quarters at Waterloo. Marshal Grouchy, with 34,000 men, and 108 pieces of ordnance, ought to have been at Wavres, but he was in fact at Gembloux, having lost sight of the Prussian army, which was at Wavres; where the four corps were united, amounting to 75,000 men.

At ten o'clock at night, the Emperor despatched an officer to Marshal Grouchy, whom he supposed at

Wavres, to inform him, that there would be a great battle the next day : that the English army was posted in advance of the forest of Soignes, its left resting on the village of Haye ; that he ordered him to detach, before day, from his camp at Wavres, a division of 7,000 men of every description, and sixteen pieces of cannon to St. Lambert, to form a junction with the right of the grand army, and to act with it. That as soon as he had ascertained the evacuation of Wavres by Marshal Blucher, either to continue his retreat to Brussels, or to take any other direction ; he should march with the greater part of his troops, to support his detachment at St. Lambert.

At eleven o'clock at night, an hour after these instructions had been sent, a report was received from Marshal Grouchy, dated Gembloux, five in the evening. He informed that he was with his army at Gembloux, ignorant of the direction taken by Marshal Blucher ; whether he had directed his course to Brussels or to Liege ; that in consequence, he had posted two advanced guards, the one between Gembloux, and Wavres, and the other one league from Gembloux, in the direction of Liege. Thus Marshal Blucher had

escaped, and was three leagues distant from him! Grouchy had only marched two leagues, on the seventeenth. A second officer was sent to him at four o'clock in the morning, to reiterate the orders of the preceding evening. An hour after, at five, a second report was received, dated Gembloux, two o'clock at night. The Marshal stated, that at six in the evening he had ascertained, that Blucher had marched with all his forces towards Wavres, that in consequence he would have immediately followed him; but as the troops had encamped, and were preparing their suppers, he would not march until early in the morning, so as to be in time before Wavres, which would amount to the same thing; and the soldiers having taken a good rest, would be full of spirits.

CHAPTER VI.

BATTLE OF MONT SAINT JEAN.

- I. *Line of battle of the English army.*—II. *Line of battle of the French army.*—III. *Projects of the Emperor—Attack of Hougoumont.*—IV. *General Bulow arrives on the field of battle with 30,000 men, which augments Wellington's army to 120,000 men.*—V. *Attack of St. Haye by the first corps.*—VI. *General Bulow is repulsed.*—VII. *Charge of cavalry on the plain.*—VIII. *Movement of Grouchy.*—IX. *Movement of Blucher, which increases the enemy on the field of battle to 150,000 men.*—X. *Movement of the imperial guards.*

DURING the night the Emperor gave all the necessary orders for the battle of the next day, though, to all appearance, it would probably not take place. During four days, since the commencement of hostilities, he had by the most able manœuvres, surprised his enemies, gained a splendid victory, and separated the two armies. This was much for his glory, but

not enough for his situation. The three hours of delay by the left, in its movements, had prevented him from attacking, as he intended, the English army on the afternoon of the seventeenth. This would have crowned the campaign! Now it was probable, that the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher would take advantage of the night to traverse the forest of Soignes, and form a junction before Brussels. After this union, which would be effected before nine in the morning, the position of the French army would be very delicate! The enemy's two armies would be reinforced by all its troops in the rear. 6,000 English had lately disembarked at Ostend from America. It would be impossible for the French army to hazard traversing the forest of Soignes to attack, on defiling from it, forces double its own, and already formed. Yet in a few weeks, the armies of Russia, Austria, Bavaria, &c. would cross the Rhine, and march towards the Marne. The fifth corps, in observation, in Alsace, amounted only to 20,000 men.

At one o'clock in the night, deeply occupied with these important thoughts, he left his quarters on foot, accompanied only by his grand marshal. It was his

intention to have followed the English army in its retreat, and to endeavour to attack it, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, as soon as it should commence its march. He went the rounds of the grand guard. The forest of Soignes appeared in a blaze. The horizon between that forest, Braine-la-Leude, and the farms of Belle Alliance and of Haye, was resplendent from the fires of the bivouacs. The most profound silence reigned. The fatigues of the preceding days had buried the English army in deep sleep. Having arrived near the woods of Chateau Hougomont, he heard the noise of a column in march; now this was the time for the rear guard to leave its station should the enemy be retreating; but this noise soon ceased. The rain fell in torrents. Several officers sent out to reconnoitre, and spies, returned at half after three. They stated that the English army was not in motion. At four, the scouts brought in a countryman, who had acted as guide to a brigade of English cavalry, which had marched to take post on the extreme left, at the village of Ohain. Two Flemish deserters, who had just left their regiments, gave information, that their army was prepar-

ing for battle, that no retrograde movement had taken place; that the success of the Emperor was earnestly wished for by the inhabitants of Belgium; the English and Prussians being equally hated by them,

The English general could not have done any thing more contrary to the interests of his party and nation, to the general spirit of this campaign, and even to the most simple rules of war, than by remaining in the position he occupied. Behind him was the defiles of the forest of Soignes, should he be beaten, all retreat would be cut off. The French troops were encamped in the mud. The officers judged it impossible to give battle that day. The artillery and cavalry could not manœuvre on the ground, it being so very wet and soft. They calculated upon its requiring twelve hours of fine weather to dry it. The day commenced dawning. The Emperor returned to his head-quarters, well pleased with the great fault the enemy's general had committed, and much regretting lest the bad weather should prevent him taking advantage of it. But already it had commenced clearing up. At five he perceived a few weak rays of that sun which would set with the destruction of the

English army. The British oligarchy would be overthrown. France was to rise on that day more glorious, more powerful, and greater than ever!!!

The English army was in line of battle, on the road leading from Charleroy to Brussels, in advance of the forest of Soignes, and crowned a fine piece of table land. The right, consisting of the first and second English divisions and the Brunswick division, commanded by Generals Cook and Clinton, rested on a ravine beyond the road to Nivelles. It occupied the chateau of Hougoumont, in advance of its front, by a detachment. The centre, composed of the third English division, and of the first and second Belgic, commanded by Generals Alten, Collaert, and Chassé, was in advance of Mount St. Jean : its left was flanked by the road to Charleroy. The farm of St. Haye was occupied by one of its brigades. The left, comprising the fifth and sixth English, and the third Belgic divisions, commanded by Generals Picton, Lambert, and Perchouchet, rested its right on the road to Charleroy. Its left was in rear of the village of St. Haye, which it occupied by a strong detachment. The reserve was stationed at Mount St. Jean, at the

intersection of the roads from Charleroy, and from Nivelles to Brussels. The cavalry drawn up in three lines on the heights of St. Jean, ranged in the rear of the whole line of battle, the extent of which was 2,500 toises. The enemy's front was covered by a natural obstacle. The elevated plain was gently concave in its centre, and by a gentle slope ended in a ravine of small depth. The fourth English division, commanded by General Colville, occupied, as flankers on the right, all the openings from Halle to Braine-la-Leude. A brigade of English cavalry, as flankers on the left, took possession of all the communications from the village of Ohain. The force shewn by the enemy, was differently estimated. The most experienced officers made it amount to 90,000 men, including the flanking corps, which was nearest the truth. The French army consisted of only 69,000 men, but the victory did not appear less certain. These 69,000 men were good troops. In the enemy's army, the English alone, amounting to 40,000 men at most, could be considered as such.

At eight o'clock the Emperor's breakfast was brought to him. There were several general officers

there—He said “The enemy’s army is superior to
 “ours by a fourth :* we have nevertheless ninety
 “chances in our favour, and not ten against us.”
 “Without doubt,” said Marshal Ney, who had just
 entered, “if the Duke of Wellington were simple
 “enough to wait for your Majesty ; but I come to
 “inform you that already his columns are in full re-
 “treat and disappearing in the forest.” “You must
 “have seen badly,” replied the Emperor, “it is too
 “late, he would expose himself to certain destruc-

* *State of the French army of Flanders on the 17th of June in the evening.*

Forces under the immediate orders of the Emperor on the field of battle of Mount St. Jean.

| | Infant. | Caval. | Artill. Engin. Mil. Equip. | Pieces ordin. |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| Imperial Guards | 11,500 | 4,000 | | 96 |
| 1st Corps | 16,500 | 1,400 | | 46 |
| 2d Corps | 16,500 | 1,400 | | 38 |
| 6th Corps | 6,300 | 1,400 | | 30 |
| 1st Corps of Cavalry | | 1,400 | | 6 |
| 3d Corps of Cavalry | | 3,000 | | 12 |
| 4th Corps of Cavalry | | 3,000 | | 12 |
| Loss sustained on the 16th | 50,800 3,000 | 15,600 750 | 6,500 500 | 240 |
| Present on the field of battle of Mount St. Jean on the evening of the 17th at the camp of Planchenois | 47,800 | 14,850 | 6,000 | 240 |
| Total | 68,650 men, 240 pieces ord. | | | |

"tion. He has thrown the dice, and they are ours!" At that moment some artillery officers, who had been reconnoitring the plain, announced, that the artillery might be manœuvred, but with some difficulty, which in the course of an hour would be much di-

Forces under the command of Marshal Grouchy.

| | Infant. | Caval. | Artill. Engin. Mil. Equip. | Pieces ordin. |
|---|-----------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| 3d Corps | 13,300 | 1,400 | | 38 |
| 4th Corps | 12,000 | 1,400 | | 38 |
| 6th Corps, 1st division | 3,000 | | | 8 |
| 1st Corps of Cavalry, 1st division | | 1,400 | | 6 |
| 2d Corps of Cavalry | | 2,700 | | 12 |
| | 28,700 | 6,900 | 3,900 | 102 |
| Loss sustained on the 16th | 3,900 | 900 | 400 | |
| Present, under arms, on the evening of } the 17th June at Gembloux } | 24,800 | 6,100 | 3,100 | 102 |
| Total | 34,300 men, 102 pieces ord. | | | |

Forces left in the rear at Ligny and Charleroy.

| | Infant. | Caval. | Artill. Engin. Mil. Equip. | Pieces ordin. |
|--|---------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| 3d Division of the 2d Corps left on the } field of battle at Ligny } | 5,000 | | 200 | 8 |
| Parks left at Charleroy, or at Quatre } Bras } | | | 5,000 | 4 |
| | 5,000 | | 5,200 | 12 |
| Loss on the 16th | 1,900 | | | |
| Present, under arms, on the evening of } the 17th June at Ligny and Charleroy } | 3,100 | | 5,200 | 12 |
| Total | 8,300 men, 12 pieces ord. | | | |

N. B. The French army at the battle of Mount St. Jean was composed of 95 battalions and 110 squadrons.

minished. The Emperor immediately mounted his horse. He rode to the riflemen opposite St. Haye,

State of the English and Prussian armies on the evening of the 17th June.

English army on the field of battle at Mount St. Jean.

| INFANTRY. | | | |
|--|--------|----------|------------------|
| 1st Division, English Guards | 3,500 | } 64,000 | Pieces ordin. |
| 2d Do. 1 brigade English infantry, 1 German, 1 Hanoverian | 8,900 | | |
| 3d Do. 1 brigade English infantry, 1 German, 1 Hanoverian | 8,800 | | |
| 4th Do. 2 brigades English infantry, 1 Hanoverian | 7,100 | | |
| 5th Do. Do. | 9,200 | | |
| 6th Do. 1 brigade English infantry, 1 Hanoverian | 6,500 | | |
| 7th Do. Flemings and Hollanders | 7,500 | | |
| 8th Do. | 7,500 | | |
| 9th Do. Hollanders and Flemings, 1 brigade from Nassau | 8,000 | | |
| 10th Do. Brunswickers | 6,000 | | |
| Total on taking the field | 73,000 | | |
| Loss at Quatre Bras | 9,000 | | |
| Present on the field of battle at Mount St. Jean | 64,000 | | |
| CAVALRY. | | | |
| 8 Divisions of English cavalry, composed of 16 English regiments, 5 Hanoverian, and 5 German | 15,000 | } 19,500 | |
| Holland and Belgic cavalry | 3,200 | | |
| Brunswick cavalry | 1,800 | | |
| Total on taking the field | 20,000 | | |
| Loss at Quatre Bras | 500 | | |
| Present under arms at the battle of the 18th | 19,500 | | |
| ART. MIL. EQUIP. | | | |
| Artillery, English, Hanoverian, and German | 4,200 | } 6,000 | 250 |
| Artillery, Holland, Belgic, Brunswick, &c. | 2,000 | | |
| Total | 6,200 | | |
| Loss on the 16th | 200 | | |
| Present at the battle of the 18th | 6,000 | | |
| Total force of the English army at the battle of Mount St. Jean | 89,500 | | 250 |

again reconnoitred the enemy's line, and directed the General of Engineers, Haxo, a confidential offi-

| Prussian army at Wavres on the evening of the 17th. | | | | Force left at the parks of the English and Prussian armies. | |
|---|---|--------|--------|---|--------|
| | | Pieces | ordin. | | |
| 1st Corps. | Infant. Caval. Artil. &c. having 75 pieces ordnance 30,000 Loss on the 15th & 16th 17,000 <hr/> Present on the evening of the 17th, at the camp of Wavres 13,000 | 13,000 | | English | 5,000 |
| 2d Corps. | Infant. Caval. Artil. having 75 ps. ord. 30,000 Loss on the 15th & 16th 12,000 <hr/> Present on the evening of the 17th, at the camp of Wavres 18,000 | 18,000 | 100 | Prussians | 8,000 |
| 3d Corps. | Infant. Caval. Artil. having 75 ps. ord. 30,000 Loss on the 15th & 16th 16,000 <hr/> Present on the evening of the 17th, at the camp of Wavres 14,000 | 14,000 | | | |
| N. B. These three corps lost at Ligny 40 ps. ord. | | | | | |
| 4th Corps. | Infant. Caval. Artil. having 75 ps. ord. 30,000 Loss on the 15th & 16th 0 <hr/> Present on the evening of the 17th, at the camp of Wavres 30,000 | 30,000 | 70 | | |
| Total force of the Prussian army on the evening of the 17th at the camp of Wavres | | | | Tôtal force left at the parks. | 13,000 |
| | | | | | |

N. B. The English army at Mount St. Jean consisted of 34 English battalions, 8 of the German Legions, 20 Hanoverian, 8 Brunswick, 30 Holland, and Belgic and Nassau. Total 104 battalions, 160 battalions, and 43 brigades of artillery. Not including the 14 regiments of infantry in garrison in Belgium, or lately disembarked at Ostend.

cer, to approach near, to ascertain whether he had erected any redoubts or intrenchments. The General soon returned with the information that he could perceive no traces of works. The Emperor having reflected for a quarter of an hour, dictated the order of battle, which two Generals noted down, sitting on the ground. The aid de camps carried it to the different army corps, who were under arms, full of impatience and ardour. The army commenced its movements, and marched in eleven columns.

II. Of these eleven columns, four were destined to form the first line, four the second, and three the third. The four columns of the first line were, that on the left formed by the cavalry of the second corps; the second by three divisions of infantry of the second corps; the third, by the four divisions of infantry of the first corps; and the fourth by the cavalry of the first corps. The four columns of the second line were, that on the left formed by Kellerman's cuirassiers; the second by the two divisions of infantry of the sixth corps; the third by two divisions of light cavalry, the one of the sixth corps commanded by the

General of division Daumont; the other detached from Pajol's corps, commanded by the General of division Subervie; the fourth by Milhaud's cuirassiers. The three columns of the third line were, that of the left, formed by the division of horse grenadiers, and of dragoons of the guards, commanded by General Guyot; the second by the three divisions of old, middling, and young guards, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals Friant, Morand, and Duhesme; the third by the mounted chasseurs and the lancers of the guards, commanded by Lieutenant-General Lefebvre Desnouettes. The artillery marched on the flanks of columns; the parks and wagons in the rear.

At nine o'clock the heads of the four columns, forming the first line, arrived at the place of their deployment. At the same time, at a greater or less distance, the seven other columns were perceived defiling from the heights. They were marching with trumpets and drums sounding the attack. The music recalled to the soldiers the remembrance of a hundred victories. The ground appeared proud of the burden of such a number of brave men. It was a grand sight. The enemy placed so as to perceive them,

even to the last man, must have been struck with it, and the army must have appeared to them double to what it really was.

The eleven columns displayed with so much precision, that there was no confusion, and each took the station assigned to it, in the mind of the commander. Never were such large bodies moved with so much facility. The light cavalry of the second corps, forming the first column of the left of the first line, displayed on both sides of the road from Nivelles to Brussels, nearly as high up as the woods of Hougomont. It scoured the whole plain, on its left, having strong guards on Braine le Leude, and its light artillery, in battery, on the road of Nivelles. The second corps, commanded by General Reille, occupied the space between the roads of Nivelles and Charleroy, being an extent of from 900 to 1000 toises. Prince Jerome's division was on the left near the road of Nivelles and woods of Hougomont; General Foy was in the centre, and General Bachelu on the right, which rested on the road of Charleroy, near the farm of Belle Alliance. Each division of infantry was drawn up in two lines, the second being thirty toises

distant from the first, having its artillery in front and its parks in the rear, near the road of Nivelles. The third column, formed by the first corps, under the command of Lieutenant-General Count Erlon, rested its left on the right of the road from Charleroy, near the Belle Alliance, having its right opposite the farm of Haye, on the left of the enemy. Each of its divisions of infantry was in two lines, with the artillery in the interval of the brigades. Its light cavalry formed the fourth column, and displayed on its right, in three lines. It observed La Haye, Frichemont, and threw posts toward Ohain upon the enemy's flankers. Its light artillery was on its right.

The first line had scarcely been formed, when the heads of the four columns of the second line arrived on their ground. Kellerman's curassiers stationed themselves in two lines thirty toises apart, their left being on the road to Nivelles, a hundred toises distant from the second line of the second corps, their right on the road to Charleroy. Their line extended 1,100 toises; their artillery formed two batteries, the one near the road of Nivelles, the other on the right near that of Charleroy. The second column, com-

manded by Lieutenant-General Count Lobau, marched to within fifty toises in rear of the second line of the second corps, where it halted in close column of divisions. Its depth amounted to about a hundred toises, along the left of the road to Charleroy. There was an interval of ten toises between the two columns of division. Its artillery was stationed on its left flank. The third column, consisting of the light cavalry of the sixth corps, under the orders of the General of division Daumont, followed by General Subervie's command, formed in close column of squadrons. Its left rested on the road to Charleroy opposite its infantry, from which it was only separated by this road. Its light artillery was on its right flank. The fourth column, composed of Milhaud's cuirassiers, displayed, in two lines, with an interval of thirty toises, and at a hundred toises in rear of the second line of the first corps; its left towards the road of Charleroy; its right in the direction of Frichemont. Its front extended about 900 toises. Its batteries were on its left, near the road to Charleroy, and at its centre.

Before this second line was formed, the heads of column of the reserve arrived at their station. The

cavalry of the guards formed 100 toises in rear of Kellerman, in two lines, with thirty toises of interval. The left rested on the road to Nivelles, and the right on that of Charleroy. The artillery was in the centre. The centre column, composed of the infantry of the guards, displayed in six lines, each of four battalions, having an interval of ten toises between them, and occupying both sides of the road to Charleroy, a little in front of the farm of Rossome. The artillery of the regiments were placed in battery on the right and left; that of foot and of horse of the reserve, in rear of the lines. The third column, consisting of the mounted chasseurs, and the lancers of the guard, displayed in two lines, with thirty toises of interval, and 100 toises in rear of General Milhaud, its left being towards the road of Charleroy, its right on the side of Frichemont, and its light artillery at its centre. At half past ten, a thing almost incredible, all the movements were performed, and all the troops were in their stations. The most profound silence reigned on the field of battle. The army was drawn up in six lines, forming the figure of six W. The two first were of infantry, having the light cavalry on the

wings, the third and fourth of curassiers, the fifth and sixth of the cavalry of the guards, with six lines of infantry of the guards, placed perpendicularly at the summit of these six W. The sixth corps, in solid column, was perpendicular to the lines occupied by the guards, having its infantry on the left of the road and its cavalry on the right. The roads of Charleroy and Nivelles were unobstructed, in order that the artillery of the reserve might be rapidly transported to any part of the line.

The Emperor rode along the ranks. It would be difficult to express the enthusiasm which animated the soldiers. The infantry raised their caps on the points of their bayonets; the cuirassiers, dragoons, and light cavalry, their helmets and caps on the point of their swords. The victory appeared certain. The old soldiers, who had been present at so many engagements, admired this new order of battle. They endeavoured to penetrate the ulterior views of their General, and discussed the point and manner of attack. The Emperor now gave his last orders, placed himself at the head of his guards, at the summit of the six W., and dismounted. From this place he

had a view of both armies; the sight extended considerably to the right and left of the field of battle.

A battle is a dramatic action, which has its commencement, its middle, and its end. The order of battle taken by the two armies, and the first movements to come to action, constitute the prelude. The contre movements of the attacked army forms the plot. This causes new dispositions, brings on the crisis, from whence springs the result. As soon as the attack of the centre of the French army should be unmasked, the enemy's General would make contre movements, either by his wings, or in rear of his line, to cause a diversion, or to succour the point attacked. None of these movements could escape the well exercised eye of the French monarch, in the central position he was placed. He had also at his command all the reserve, to march them at pleasure, wherever the urgency of circumstances might require their presence.

III. Ten divisions of artillery, among which were three of twelves, were united, with their left resting on the road to Charleroy, on the eminences beyond the

Belle Alliance, and in advance of the left division of the first corps. They were destined to cover the attack on St. Haye, which two divisions of the first corps, and the two of the sixth corps were to make, at the same time that the two other divisions of the first corps marched upon the village of Haye. By this movement the left of the enemy would be turned. The division of light cavalry of the sixth corps in close column, and that of the first corps, which was on the wings, were to participate in this attack, which the second and third lines of cavalry would support, as well as all the foot and cavalry guards. The French army, in possession of Haye and Mount St. Jean, would cut off all the right of the English army, containing its principal strength, from the road to Brussels. The Emperor preferred turning the enemy's left to his right; 1st. In order to cut them off from the Prussians at Wavres, to prevent their junction, should they contemplate it; and even if they should not have intended it, if the attack had been made on the right, the English army repulsed would have fallen back on the Prussian, whereas being made on the left it would be separated from it, and thrown in

the direction of the sea. 2dly. Because the left appeared the weakest. 3dly. The Emperor momentarily expected the arrival of a detachment, from Marshal Grouchy, on his right; and he did not wish to run the chance of being separated from it.

While every thing was preparing for this decisive attack, Prince Jerome's division on the left engaged in a fire of musketry, at the woods of Hougomont. It soon became very brisk. The enemy having unmasked nearly forty-four pieces of cannon, General Reille ordered the artillery of his second division to advance: and the Emperor sent an order to General Kellerman to send forward his twelve pieces of light artillery. The cannonade soon became very severe. Prince Jerome several times carried the wood of Hougomont, and several times was repulsed. It was defended by the division of English guards, the best of the enemy's troops. These being placed on his right, was of considerable advantage to the French, as it rendered the grand attack on his left more easy. Foy's division sustained Prince Jerome's. Prodiges of valour were displayed on both sides. The English guards covered the woods and avenues with their

dead bodies, but not without selling their lives dearly. After many vicissitudes, which occupied several hours of the day, the entire wood was in possession of the French. The chateau, into which a few hundred intrepid soldiers had thrown themselves, made an obstinate resistance. The Emperor ordered a battery of eight howitzers to be formed, which set fire to the barns and roofs, and enabled the French to become masters of the post.

The honour of commanding the grand attack of the centre was conferred on Marshal Ney. It could not have been intrusted to a braver person, or one more accustomed to such operations. He sent one of his aids-de-camp to announce all being ready, and that the signal was only waited for. Before giving it, the Emperor again surveyed the field of battle, and perceived in the direction of St. Lambert, something that seemed like troops. He said to his Major General, "Marshal, what do you see towards St. Lambert? I believe I see 5 or 6000 men. It is probably a detachment from Grouchy." All the glasses of the staff were turned in that direction. The weather was considerably foggy. As it happens on such occasions,

some maintained, that it was not troops but trees; others that it was columns in position, others again, that it was troops on march. In this uncertainty, without any further deliberation, he ordered Lieutenant General Daumont, to march with his light cavalry, and those commanded by General Subervie, to scour the right, to form a prompt communication with the troops that might arrive at St. Lambert, to effect a junction, should they be from Marshal Grouchy, and to keep them in check, should they belong to the enemy. These 3,000 cavalry had only to wheel on their right by fours to be out of the lines of the army. They marched rapidly and without confusion, 3,000 toises, where they arranged themselves in order of battle *en potence*, upon the whole right of the army.

IV. A quarter of an hour afterwards, an officer of chasseurs, brought in a Prussian of the regiment of black uniformed hussars, who had been taken prisoner by the scouts of a flying column of 300 chasseurs, who reconnoitred the country between Wavres and Panche-noit. This hussar was bearer of a letter. He was very intelligent, and gave all the information that could be desired. The column seen at St. Lambert,

was the advanced guard of the Prussian General Bulow, who was marching on with 30,000 men; this was the fourth Prussian corps, and had not been at the battle of Ligny. The letter announced the arrival of this corps; and the General requested orders from the Duke of Wellington. The hussar mentioned, that he had been at Wavres in the morning; that the three other Prussian army corps were encamped there, that they had passed the night of the seventeenth, and eighteenth there, that there were no French before them; that they supposed the French had marched towards Planchenoit; that a patrol of his regiments had been in the night two leagues from Wavres, without meeting with any French corps. The Duke of Dalmatia expedited the intercepted letter, and the report of the hussar to Marshal Grouchy, to whom he repeated the order of immediately marching to St. Lambert, and to take General Bulow's corps in the rear. It was eleven o'clock. The officer had not more than four or five leagues to go, and on good roads, to reach the Marshal. He promised to be there in an hour. By the last information from the Marshal, it was known that at break of day he was

to march towards Wavres. Now from Gembloux to Wavres is only three leagues. Whether he had or not received the orders sent in the night from the imperial head-quarters, he ought certainly to have been engaged, about that time, before Wavres. The glasses turned in that direction could perceive nothing, not a single report of cannon was heard. Soon after General Daumont sent information, that several scouts, well mounted, sent by him in advance, had met with patrols of the enemy in the direction of St. Lambert; that the troops seen there, were, without doubt, the enemy's. That he had sent picked patrols, to form a communication with Marshal Grouchy, and to carry him information and orders.

The Emperor immediately ordered Count Lobau to cross the road of Charleroy by a movement on the right of his two divisions, to march to the support of the light cavalry towards St. Lambert, to choose a good intermediate position, where with 10,000 men, he might keep in check 30,000, if that should be necessary; to attack the Prussians vigorously, as soon as he should hear the cannon of the troops detached to their rear by Marshal Grouchy. These arrange-

ments were immediately put in execution. It was of the utmost importance, that Count Lobau's movement should be made with expedition. Marshal Grouchy, it was supposed, had detached 6 or 7000 men from Wavres to St. Lambert, and who would be placed in a very perilous situation, for Bulow's corps was 30,000 men strong ; on the other hand, General Bulow's corps would be surprised and cut to pieces, if, at the moment of being attacked in rear by from 6 to 7000 men, it should be attacked in front by a man of Count Lobau's character. 17 or 18,000 Frenchmen, thus stationed and commanded, would be a force much superior to 30,000 Prussians. These events occasioned a change in the Emperor's first plan. His line of battle was weakened by 10,000 men, sent against General Bulow. He had now only 59,000 against 90,000. The enemy was also reinforced by 30,000 men, already arrived on the field of battle. The contest was therefore between 120,000, and 69,000 men ; nearly one to two.

“ We had, this morning,” said the Emperor, to the Duke of Dalmatia, “ ninety chances in our favour ; Bulow's arrival has taken thirty from us ;

“but we have still sixty against forty, and if Grouchy
“repairs the dreadful fault he yesterday committed,
“by delaying at Gembloux, and rapidly despatches
“his detachment, the victory will be the more deci-
“sive, for Bulow’s corps will be entirely cut up.”

There was no apprehension as respects Marshal Grouchy : After having sent his proposed detachment to St. Lambert, he would still have from 27 to 28,000 men. The troops Blucher had with him at Wavres, were reduced from the 90,000 at Ligny, to 40,000, both by the loss of 30,000, and the desertion of 20,000, plundering the shores of the Meuse, and also by the men detached to cover his army, as well as his baggage, between Namur and Liege. Now 40,000 or 45,000 routed and discouraged Prussians, could make no head against 28,000 Frenchmen, well stationed and victorious.

V. It was noon. The riflemen were engaged along the whole line, but the battle had really only commenced, on the left, in the woods, and at the chateau of Hougomont. On the extreme right, General Bulow’s troops were still stationary; they appeared to

be forming, and waiting for their artillery to pass the defile. The Emperor sent orders to Marshal Ney to commence the cannonade, to take possession of the farm of Saint Haye, and to post a division of infantry there; also to drive the enemy from the village of Haye, and occupy it, in order to intercept all communication between the English army and General Bulow. Eighty pieces of cannon spread death along the left of the English line; one of the divisions was entirely destroyed by the cannon and grape shot of the French. While this attack was going on, the Emperor attentively observed the movements of the enemy's General; on his right he made none, but perceived him on his left, preparing a large charge of cavalry. He rode thither in full speed. The charge had taken place. It had repulsed a column of infantry, advancing on the plain; had taken two eagles from it, and seven pieces of cannon. He ordered a brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers of the second line to charge this cavalry. It set off shouting "Live the Emperor!" The English cavalry was broken, and the greater part remained on the field of battle. The cannon were retaken, and the infantry protected. Several

charges of infantry and cavalry took place, the details of which belong more properly to the history of each regiment, than to that of a general battle, where such numerous details would create confusion. Suffice it to say, after three hours contest, the farm of St. Haye, notwithstanding the resistance of the Scotch regiments, was taken by the French infantry, and the object proposed by the French General accomplished. The fifth and sixth English divisions were destroyed. General Picton remained dead on the field of battle.

During this engagement the Emperor rode along the line of infantry of the first corps, the line of cavalry composed of Milhaud's cuirassiers, and the third line consisting of the guards, amidst the cannon balls, grape shot, and shells, ricochetting from line to line. The brave General Devaux, commanding the artillery of the guards, was shot by his side. He was a great loss, particularly at that time, for he was better acquainted than any other person, with the positions occupied by the reserve of the artillery of the guards, consisting of ninety-six pieces. The General of brigade, Lallemand, succeeded him, and was shortly after wounded.

There was considerable disorder in the English army. Those with the baggage train and the wounded, seeing the French approach on the Brussels road and by the principal opening of the forest, crowded to make good their retreat. All the flying English, Flemings, and Germans, who had been dispersed by the cavalry, took the route to Brussels. It was four o'clock. The victory would then have been decided, had not General Bulow's corps at that time made its powerful diversion. About two o'clock in the afternoon, General Daumont reported, that Bulow was defiling in three columns, that the French chasseurs kept up a retiring fire upon the enemy; who appeared to be in great numbers; he estimated them at more than 40,000 men. He moreover stated that his scouts, well mounted, had been several leagues in different directions, and had brought no information of Marshal Grouchy; he was therefore not to be calculated on. At the same time the Emperor received very distressing news from Gembloux. Marshal Grouchy, in place of having marched from Gembloux at dawn of day, as he had announced in his despatch of two o'clock at night, had not left his camp at ten in the

morning. The officer attributed it to the dreadful weather—a very ridiculous motive. This inexcusable delay on such a pressing occasion, by so zealous an officer, cannot be explained.

VI. It was not long before the cannonade commenced between General Bulow and Count Lobau. The Prussian army marched forward in echelon, having its centre in advance. Its line of battle was perpendicular to the right flank of the French army, parallel with the road leading from Saint Haye to Planchenoit. The centre echelon unmasked thirty pieces of cannon. Count Lobau opposed a like number of artillery to them. The Count perceiving that the first echelon was not supported, attacked, broke, and drove it a considerable distance; but the two other lines, which appeared to have been retarded by the bad roads, rallied it. The Prussians, without attempting to break the French line, endeavoured to outflank it by a movement on the left. The Count, fearful of being turned, retreated in chequer, towards the army. The fire of the Prussian batteries was doubled; sixty pieces of cannon were counted. The

balls fell on the road before and in rear of the Belle Alliance, where the Emperor was with his guards; this was the line of operation of the army. At the most critical moment the enemy had approached so near as to pour their grape shot on this road. The Emperor ordered General Duhesme, who commanded the young guards, to march to the right of the sixth corps with his two brigades of infantry and twenty-four pieces of cannon. In a quarter of an hour this formidable battery commenced firing. The French artillery soon acquired the superiority; it was better served, and better stationed. As soon as the young guards encountered the Prussians, their march appeared to be arrested. An unsteadiness was observed in their line; they continued however to extend their left, outflanking the right of the French, and reaching to the heights of Planchenoit. Lieutenant-General Morand then marched with four battalions of old guards and sixteen pieces of cannon, to the right of the young guards. Two regiments of old guards took position in advance of Planchenoit. The Prussian line was outflanked. Bulow was repulsed; his left fell back, converged to its centre,

and, insensible, the whole line gave way. Count Lobau, Generals Duhesme and Morand, marched in advance. They soon took possession of the ground which General Bulow's artillery had occupied. This General had not only failed in his attack, and unmasked his reserve, but, from being at first held in check, was now in retreat. The bullets of the Prussians, so far from now reaching the road of Charleroy, did not strike the position occupied by Count Lobau. It was seven o'clock in the evening.

VII. Two hours had passed since Count Erlon had taken La Haye, and out-flanked the left of the English, and the right of General Bulow. The light cavalry of the first corps, in pursuit of the enemy's infantry on the plain of La Haye, were driven back by a body of cavalry of superior numbers. Count Milhaud was then ascending the heights with his cuirassiers, he informed General Lefebvre Desnouettes, who immediately set out to support them. It was five o'clock, the time when General Bulow's attack was heaviest, and when so far from being held in check, he showed fresh troops, which extended his line on the French

right. The English cavalry was repulsed by the intrepid cuirassiers and the chasseurs of the guards. The English abandoned all the field of battle between St. Haye and Mont St. Jean, by which all their left was broken up, and thrown on their right. At the sight of these brilliant charges, shouts of victory were heard on the field of battle. The Emperor said, "It is an hour too soon; however, what has been done must be followed up." He sent orders to Kellerman's cuirassiers, who had remained in their position on the left, to hasten to the support of the cavalry on the plain. General Bulow was then menacing the flank and rear of the army. It was of importance to make no retrograde movement, in any part, and to support the cavalry in the position they had taken, although premature. This rapid movement of 3,000 cuirassiers, marching off to the shouts of "Live the Emperor!" and under the cannonade of the Prussians, effected a happy diversion in this critical moment. The cavalry pushed forward as if in pursuit of the English; while Bulow's army was still progressing in its movement on the French flank and rear. The soldiers, and even the officers, sought to

ascertain, by the countenance of the chief, whether they were victorious, or in danger; but it bespoke confidence. This was, in the space of twenty years, the fiftieth pitched battle, at which he had commanded. In the mean time, a division of the corps of cavalry of the guards, commanded by General Guyot, and which was in the second line, behind Kellerman's cuirassiers, set off in full trot for the plains. The Emperor perceived it, and sent Count Bertrand to recal it. This was his reserve. But the Count was too late, it had already taken part in the engagement; any retrograde movement would then have been dangerous. From five o'clock in the evening the Emperor was thus deprived of his reserve of cavalry, of that reserve, which, well directed, had gained him so many victories. However, these 12,000 select cavalry performed wonders. They routed all the enemy's numerous cavalry, that opposed them, broke through several squares of infantry, took sixty pieces of ordnance, and in the middle of the squares got possession of six colours, which three chasseurs of the guards, and three cuirassiers, presented to the Emperor before the Belle Alliance. The

enemy, for the second time that day, considered the battle as lost, and beheld with terror, the difficulties the disadvantageous ground chosen by him, would oppose to his retreat. Ponsonby's brigade was charged by the red lancers of the guards, commanded by General Colbert, and was broken; its general, pierced by seven thrusts of the lances, fell dead. The Prince of Orange, on the point of being taken, was severely wounded. This brave body of cavalry, not being supported by a strong corps of infantry, which was retained by General Bulow's attack, was forced to content itself with keeping possession of the field of battle it had conquered. At seven o'clock, General Bulow was repulsed in his attack, and the cavalry still kept possession of the plain they had occupied. The victory was won; 69,000 Frenchmen had overcome 120,000 enemy. Joy was in every countenance, and hope enlivened every breast. These feelings succeeded to the high excitement experienced during the attack of the flank by an entire army, and which, for the space of an hour, threatened to cut off the retreat of the French army. At this moment the cannonade of Marshal Grouchy was distinctly heard. It was

beyond Wavres, in the most distant, and in the nearest points, in rear of St. Lambert.

VIII. Marshal Grouchy did not leave his camp at Gembloux until ten in the morning, and at half past twelve was midway to Wavres. He heard the terrible cannonade of Waterloo, no experienced man could mistake it. It was several hundred pieces of cannon, and two armies in deadly contest. General Excelmans, who commanded the cavalry, was struck with it. He went to the Marshal, and said to him. "The Emperor is engaged with the English army; there can be no doubt of it. So heavy a cannonade cannot be a skirmish. Marshal! we ought to march towards the fire. I am an old soldier of the army of Italy. I have heard General Bonaparte inculcate these principles a hundred times. If we take to the left, we will be on the field of battle in two hours." "I believe," said the Marshal, "you are right; but if Blucher should march from Wavres, and take me in flank, I shall commit myself by breaking my orders, which are to march against Blucher." Count Gerard now joined the Marshal, and gave him the

same advice as Excelmans. "Your order directs," said he, "that you should have been yesterday at Wavres, and not to day. The safest course to take is to march for the field of battle. You must confess, that Blucher has gained a day's march on you. He was yesterday at Wavres, and you at Gembloux, and who knows where he now is. If he has effected a junction with Wellington, we will find him on the field of battle, then your order will be executed to the letter. If he should not be there, our arrival will decide the battle. In two hours we can take part in the engagement; and if we destroy the English, what will Blucher, already beaten, be able to do." The Marshal appeared convinced; but at this very moment, he received information that his light cavalry had arrived at Wavres, and were engaged with the Prussians; that all their force was united there, and that it consisted of at least 80,000 men; upon this he continued his march towards Wavres, where he arrived at four in the afternoon. Believing that the whole Prussian army was before him, he spent two hours in forming his line of battle, and making his dispositions. It was then he received the message

from the officer, despatched from the field of battle at ten in the morning. He detached General Pajol with 12,000 men towards Limate, a bridge over the Dyle, a league in rear of St. Lambert. The General arrived there at seven o'clock in the evening. He crossed the river. During this time, Marshal Grouchy attacked Wavres.

IX. Marshal Blucher passed the night of the seventeenth, eighteenth at Wavres, with the four corps of his army, amounting to 75,000 men. Informed that the Duke of Wellington had determined to stand the issue of a battle before the forest of Soignes, provided he might calculate on his assistance. He detached in the morning his fourth corps, which crossed the Dyle at Limate, and united at St. Lambert. This corps was entire. It had not been present at Ligny. Marshal Blucher's light cavalry, which reconnoitred two leagues from his camp at Wavres, heard nothing of Grouchy. At seven in the morning they only saw a few scouts. Blucher concluded that the whole French army had united at Mount St. Jean. He put the second corps, commanded by General Pirch, in

motion. This corps was reduced to 18,000 men. The marshal himself marched with the first, under the orders of Zieten, and which was reduced to 13,000 men. He left General Thielman, with the third corps, at Wavres.

The second corps, commanded by General Pirch, marched by Lasne, and Blucher with the first corps, towards Ohain, where, at six in the evening, he formed a junction with the English brigade of cavalry, acting as flankers. He there received information that Marshal Grouchy, with a considerable force, was present before Wavres at four, that he was making arrangements for attack, and that the third corps was not competent to resist him. The Marshal had no choice to make. It was necessary for him to support his principal forces, General Bulow, and the English. He sent orders to General Thielman to hold out as long as possible, and to retire towards him, when forced so to do. Moreover, he was not in a state to return to Wavres. He would not have arrived there until late in the night, and should the English army be beaten, he would be placed between two fires, whereas, if he continued with the English army, and

then should be victorious, he would be sufficiently in time to march against Marshal Grouchy. His march was very slow; his troops were much fatigued, and the roads were completely cut up. These two columns, together about 31,000 men strong, opened the communication between General Bulow and the English. The first, who was in full retreat, halted. Wellington, who was in despair, and had no other prospects before him but a certain defeat, saw his safety. The brigade of English cavalry at Ohain rejoined him, as well as part of the fourth division of flankers on the right. If Marshal Grouchy had passed the night of the seventeenth before Wavres, as he ought to have done, according to his orders, Marshal Blucher would have remained there in observation, with all his forces, believing himself pursued by the whole of the French army. If Marshal Grouchy had, according to his communication from his camp at Gembloux, dated two o'clock at night, marched at the break of day, that is to say, at four in the morning, he would not have arrived at Wavres in time to prevent General Bulow from marching; but he would have stopped Marshal Blucher's other three corps.

The victory would still have been certain ; but the Marshal, however, did not arrive before Wavres until four in the afternoon, and did not attack until six. He was too late ! The French army, 69,000 men strong, which, at seven in the evening, was victorious over an army of 120,000 men, being then in possession of half of the field of battle of the English army, and having repulsed General Bulow's corps, had victory snatched from it by the arrival of Marshal Blucher with 30,000 fresh men ; a reinforcement which augmented the allied army to about 150,000 men, that is, two and a half against one.

X. As soon as General Bulow's corps had been repulsed, the Emperor ordered General Drouot, who performed the duty of Aid-Major-General of the guards, to rally all the guards in advance of the farm of Belle Alliance, where he was, with eight battalions drawn up in two lines, the eight others having marched to support the young guards, and to defend Planche-noit. In the mean time the cavalry, which continued to occupy the elevated plain against all opposition, saw the movement of General Bulow, but placing confi-

dence in the reserve of guards, which they saw before him, they were under no apprehension, and on his corps being repulsed, uttered shouts of victory. They were only waiting for the infantry of guards to decide the victory ; but they were much astonished on seeing the arrival of Marshal Blucher's columns. Some regiments fell back. The Emperor perceived it. It was of the greatest importance to restore confidence to the cavalry ; and perceiving that a quarter of an hour was still necessary for rallying all the guards, he placed himself at the head of four battalions, and advanced on the left, in front of St. Haze, having sent aid-de-camps along the line, to announce the arrival of Marshal Grouchy, and to say, that with a little firmness the victory would be decided. General Reille concentrated his corps on the left, in front of Chateau Hougomont, and was preparing his attack. It was necessary that the guards should engage all together, but the eight other battalions were still in the rear. Crossed by circumstances, and seeing the cavalry discountenanced, and that a reserve of infantry was necessary to support them, he ordered General Friant to march with the four battalions of middle

guards, in front of the enemy's attack. The cavalry resumed confidence, and moved on with its accustomed intrepidity. These four battalions of the guards repulsed all that opposed them, and the charges of cavalry carried dismay into the English ranks. Ten minutes afterwards the other battalions of the guards arrived. The Emperor formed them by brigades, two battalions in line, and two in column on the right and left. The second brigade was in echelon. This united the advantages of both orders. The sun was set. General Friant wounded, passed at the time. He said all was going on well, that the enemy appeared to be forming their rear guard to support their retreat, but that they would be entirely broken as soon as the remainder of the guards should march on them. A quarter of an hour was required. It was then that Marshal Blucher arrived at La Haye, and defeated the French corps defending it; it was the fourth division of the first corps, they fled, after having made but a faint resistance. Although they were attacked by four times their numbers, yet if they had shown resolution, thrown themselves into houses, it being dark, Blucher would not have had time to force the

village. It was there where the cry of "save yourself," was said to have been heard. A breach being thus made, and the line broken by the weak resistance of the troops at La Haye, the enemy's cavalry inundated the field of battle, and General Bulow marched forward. Count Lobau did his best, but the confusion was such, that he was forced to order the guards to change their front, who were formed to advance. This movement was performed with order. The guards faced to the rear. The left on the side of Saint Haye and the right on the side of Belle Alliance, showed front to the Prussians, and to the attack of Haye; soon after each battalion formed in square. The four squadrons of service charged the Prussians. At this time the brigade of English cavalry having arrived from Ohain, marched forward. These two thousand cavalry penetrated between General Reille and the guards. A dreadful confusion ensued over all the field of battle. The Emperor had only time to put himself under the protection of one of the squares of guards. If General Guyot's division of reserve cavalry had not been engaged, without having received orders, in the rear of Kellerman's cuiras-

siers, it would have repulsed this charge, and prevented the English cavalry from making an impression on the field of battle: the foot guards could then have sustained every attack of the enemy. General Bulow, marching on his left, out-flanked the whole line of battle. Night increased the disorder, and prevented every effort. If it had been day light, so that the troops could have seen the Emperor, they would have rallied. Nothing could be done in the dark. The guards commenced retreating. The fire from the enemy was already 400 toises in the rear, and the roads occupied. The Emperor, with his staff, remained a long time with the regiments of guards on a piece of rising ground. Four pieces of cannon stationed there kept up a brisk fire on the plain; its last discharge wounded Lord Paget, commander of the English cavalry. There was now not a moment to be lost. The Emperor could only effect his retreat across the fields. Cavalry, artillery, infantry, were all thrown together in confusion. The staff gained the small village of Genappe. The Emperor was in hopes of there organising a rear guard; but the disorder was so great, that every effort was in vain. It

was eleven at night. In despair of organising any defence, he placed his hopes in Girard's division, the third of the second corps, which had been left on the field of battle at Ligny, and to which he had sent orders to march to Quatre Bras, to cover the retreat of the army.

Never did the French army behave better than on this day. It performed prodigies of valour. The superiority of the French troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was so great over that of the enemy, that if the first and second Prussian corps had not arrived, the victory would have been certain and complete over the English army and Bulow's corps; that is to say, one to two, (69,000 men against 120,000.)

The loss of the English army, and that of General Bulow, was, during the battle, much greater than the French; and if the loss sustained by the French during the retreat, though very considerable, (for 6000 of them were taken prisoners,) be taken into consideration, it would still not be equal to that of the allies during these four days. They acknowledge it to have amounted to 60,000 men, namely, 11,300 English,

3,500 Hanoverians, 8,000 from Belgium, Nassau, and Brunswick,—total of the English army, 22,500; Prussians 38,000, making together 60,500. The loss of the French army, even including that in the retreat, and until it had arrived near Paris, was 41,000 men.

The imperial guards maintained their old reputation; but they were beset by unfortunate incidents. They were out-flanked on their right, and their left was crowded by the flying and enemy. If those guards could have fought with their flanks supported, they would have repelled the efforts of the enemy's two united armies. For upwards of four hours, 12,000 French cavalry, were masters of part of the enemy's battle ground. They fought against all their infantry, and repulsed every charge of their cavalry, amounting to 18,000. Lieutenant General Duhesme, an old soldier, covered with wounds, and of the greatest bravery, was taken prisoner in attempting to rally a rear guard. Count Lobau was also taken. Cambronne, General of the guards, remained, severely wounded, on the field of battle. Of twenty-four English Generals, twelve were either killed or wounded. The Holland-

ers lost three Generals. The French General, Duhesme, was assassinated on the nineteenth, by a Brunswick hussar, although a prisoner. This crime remains unpunished. He was an intrepid soldier, a consummate general, always firm, either in good or bad fortune.

CHAPTER VII.

RALLYING.

- I. *Rallying of the French army at Laon.*—II. *Retreat of Marshal Grouchy.*—III. *Resources left to France.*—IV. *Effects of the Emperor's abdication.*

I. The road to Charleroy is very large, sufficiently so for the retreat of the army. The bridge at Genappe is of the same size; five or six files of wagons might cross abreast; but on the arrival of the first fugitives, the baggage trains and parks there barricaded themselves, by placing wagons overturned, on the road, so as to leave a passage of only three toises. The confusion soon became terrible. Genappe is situated in a hollow. The advance of the Prussian troops, in pursuit of the army, having arrived on the heights which command it, at eleven at night, succeeded in dispersing a handful of brave men, rallied by the intrepid General Duhesme, and entered

the village. Among the baggage they took, was the Emperor's post-chaise, which he had not used since he left Avesne. It had been customary for it to follow the Emperor to the field of battle, behind the reserve of guards. It always contained a change of apparel, a sword, a cloak, and an iron bed. At one o'clock in the morning the Emperor arrived at Quatre Bras, dismounted at a bivouac, and despatched several officers to Marshal Grouchy, to inform him of the loss of the battle, and to order him to retreat towards Namur. The officers who had been sent from the field of battle, to bring up Girard's division from Ligny to Quatre Bras, and if time permitted, as far as Genappe, brought the distressing intelligence, that it was impossible to find that division. The General of artillery, Negre, an officer of great merit, was at Quatre Bras, with the parks of reserve; he had however only a small escort. A few hundred cavalry rallied; Count Lobau placed himself at their head, and took every possible measure to organize a rear guard. The soldiers of the first and second corps, who, a few days before, had crossed the Sambre on the bridge of Marchiennes, bent their course to this

bridge. They left the turnpike road at Quatre Bras or Gosselies, to take the cross road. The guards and the sixth corps retired towards Charleroy. The Emperor sent Prince Jerome to Marchiennes, with orders to rally the army between Avesne and Maubeuge. He himself went to Charleroy. When he arrived there at six in the morning, a great number of men, particularly cavalry, had already crossed the Sambre, and were making towards Beaumont. He stopped an hour on the left bank, despatched a few orders, and then directed his route to Philippville, in order the better to form a communication with Marshal Grouchy, and to send his orders to the frontiers of the Rhine. After having remained four hours in this town, he with all possible despatch repaired to Laon, where he arrived on the twentieth, at four o'clock in the afternoon. He had a conference with the prefect; directed his aid-de-camp, Count Bussy, to superintend the defence of that important place; sent Count Dejean to Guise, and Count Flahaut to Avesne. He awaited despatches from Prince Jerome. By these he was informed, that the Prince had rallied upwards of 25,000 men in rear of Avesne, and fifty pieces of can-

non ; that General Morand commanded the foot, and General Colbert the cavalry guards ; that the army appeared to augment continually ; that the greater part of the general officers had arrived ; that the loss was not so great as might have been imagined, upwards of half the artillery stores were saved, 170 pieces of ordnance were lost, but the men and horses arrived at Avesne. The Emperor ordered them to rendezvous at Fere, there to be provided with pièces ; and directed confidential officers to organize a new field equipage there. Marshal Soult received orders to repair to Laon with the general head-quarters. The prefect took every measure to fill the magazines of the town, and to secure provisions for an army of from 80 to 90,000 men, which, in a few days would concentrate around this town. The Emperor expected that the allied generals, profiting of their victory, would march their army as far as the Somme. He ordered Prince Jerome to leave Avesne on the twenty-second, with the army, for Laon, the point of junction announced to Marshal Grouchy and to General Rapp. The Emperor, not being more than a journey of twelve hours distant from Paris, judged it expedient

to repair thither. His presence would not be necessary with the army on the twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth. He calculated upon being back by the twenty-fifth. These six days, in the capital, he would employ to organize things for this national crisis, to complete the defences of the capital, and to hasten the resources that could be obtained from the depots and the provinces. It was then easy to judge by supposing, and which could not be doubted, that Marshal Grouchy's army would arrive safe, that the loss of the French army would be inferior to that experienced by the enemy at the battles of Ligny and Waterloo, and at the engagement of Quatre Bras. It has since been ascertained beyond a doubt, that the loss of the allies amounted to 63,000 men, while that of the French did not exceed 41,000 men, comprising therein the prisoners taken in the retreat.

II. Marshal Grouchy attacked Wavres at six in the evening of the eighteenth. General Thielman made a spirited resistance, but was defeated. Count *Gerard*, at the head of the fourth corps, forced the

passage of the Dyle. Lieutenant General Pajol with 12,000 men, had been detached to Limate; he there repulsed General Bulow's rear guard, crossed the Dyle, and took possession of the opposite heights; but at ten o'clock it was so dark that he could not continue his march; and no more hearing the cannonade of Mount St. Jean, he took post. Count *Gerard* was severely wounded at Wavres, by a ball striking his breast; happily it was not mortal. On the nineteenth, at day break, General Thielman attacked Marshal Grouchy, but was briskly repulsed. The village of Bielau and all the heights beyond Wavres were taken by the French. The General of Brigade, Peine, a distinguished officer, was mortally wounded on this occasion. Marshal Grouchy had ordered the pursuit of the enemy, and to march in the direction of Brussels, when he received information of the loss of the battle, and the order of the Emperor to retreat towards Namur. This he immediately did. The Prussians followed him with caution; but having however advanced too far, they were repulsed, and lost seven pieces of cannon, and a few hundred prisoners. General Vandamme took post at Namur,

Marshal Grouchy at Dinant. General Thielman failed in every attack he attempted. On the twenty-fourth, Marshal Grouchy's whole corps was at Rethel. On the twenty-sixth he joined the army at Laon. This force amounted to 32,000 men, 6,500 of whom were cavalry, and 108 pieces of ordnance. This did not include a considerable number of disabled men, or small depots of cavalry.

III. France was in a very critical state after the battle of Waterloo, but it was not desperate. All arrangements were made, calculating upon a defeat in Belgium. 70,000 men had, on the twenty-seventh, rallied between Paris and Laon. From 25 to 30,000 men, comprising therein the depots of the guards, were on their march from Paris and the depots. General Rapp, with 25,000 select troops, would arrive early in July on the Marne. All the losses of the artillery were repaired. Paris alone contained 500 field pieces, and only 170 had been lost. Thus an army of 120,000 men, equal to that which crossed the Sambre on the fifteenth, and with a train of artillery of 350 pieces, would cover Paris on the first of July.

Independent of this, the capital had for its defence, 36,000 national guards, 30,000 riflemen, 6,000 gunners, 600 pieces of ordnance in battery, and was formidably intrenched on the right bank of the Seine, and in a few days, the works on the left bank would be completed. The English and Prussian armies, weakened by more than 80,000 men, which reduced them to 140,000, could not cross the Somme with more than 90,000 men. They would there await the co-operation of the Austrian and Russian armies, which could not reach the Marne until the fifteenth of July. Paris had therefore twenty-five days to prepare for defence, to complete her armaments, her supplies of provisions, her fortifications, and to collect troops from all parts of France. Even on the fifteenth of July, not more than 30 or 40,000 men would have arrived on the Rhine. The great body of the Russian and Austrian armies could not be in motion until later. Neither arms, munitions of war, nor officers, were wanting in the capital. The riflemen might be easily augmented to 80,000 men, and the field artillery to 600 pieces.

Marshal Suchet, after forming a junction with General Lecourbe, would at the same time have more than 30,000 men at Lyons, independently of the garrison of that town, which was well armed, provisioned and entrenched. The defence of all the fortified places was secured. They were commanded by select officers, and garrisoned by faithful troops. Every thing might be retrieved; but it required character, energy and firmness on the part of the officers, the government, the chambers, and the whole nation: it required them to be animated by sentiments of honour, of glory, and of national independence—to take, as a model, Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, and not Carthage, after that of Zama. Should France assume this high tone of spirit, she would be invincible: her population was more military than that of any other nation. The means of carrying on the war were abundant, and fit for every purpose.

IV. On the 21st of June, Marshal Blucher and the Duke of Wellington entered the territories of the empire, in two columns. On the 22d the powder ma-

gazine at Avesne blew up. The place surrendered. On the 24th the Prussians entered Guise, and the Duke of Wellington Cambray. On the 26th he was at Peronne. During all this time, the fortresses of the first, second and third frontier lines, towards Flanders, were invested. On the 25th these two generals heard of the abdication of the Emperor, which took place on the 22d, of the insurrection of the chambers, of the discouragement these circumstances were to the army, and of the hopes conceived therefrom by the internal enemies of France. They now determined to march immediately to the capital, where they arrived on the last of June, with less than 90,000 men—a step that would have been fatal to them, and have caused their total ruin, if they had hazarded it before Napoleon:—but he had abdicated!!! The troops of the line, at Paris, more than 6,000 recruits for the guards, the riflemen of the national guards, chosen from among the people of that large city, were all devoted to him. He could have destroyed the internal enemies of the state!! But to develope the motives regulating his conduct, on so

important an occasion, and which was attended with such fatal consequences, both to himself and France, it will be necessary to resume the subject further back. It is this we intend doing in the following book.

CHAPTER VIII.

OBSERVATIONS.

I.—II.—III.—IV.—V.—VI.—VII.—VIII.—IX.
Observations.

I. FIRST OBSERVATION. The Emperor has been reproached,—1st. For abdicating the dictatorship at the time France most required a dictator. 2d. For changing the constitutions of the empire, at a time when all his efforts should have been directed to prevent its invasion. 3d. For suffering a revolt to be excited among the La Vendéans, who at first refused to take up arms against the imperial government. 4th. For uniting the chambers, when he should have been concentrating armies. 5th. For abdicating, and leaving France to the mercy of a divided and inexperienced assembly. For finally, if it were true that it was possible for the Emperor to save the country without the confidence of the nation, it was no less so that the nation in these critical circumstances could neither preserve its honour or independence without Napoleon.

We shall make no reflections on subjects which are treated of more profoundly and more in detail in book X.

II. Second observation. The art by which the movements of divers corps of the French army were concealed from the enemy, at the opening of the campaign, deserves to be particularly remarked. Marshal Blucher and Wellington were surprised. They neither saw nor heard any thing of the movements performed near their advanced outposts.

In attacking the allied armies, the French had it in their power either to outflank their right, their left, or break through their centre. In the first case they would march by Lille to attack the English army; in the second they would pass by Givet and Charlemont and encounter the Prussian army. In each case these two armies would remain united, for they would be mutually driven on each other, the right on the left and the left on the right. The Emperor adopted the third plan, covering his movements by the Sambre, to break the lines of the two armies at Charleroy, the point of their junction. By manœuvring with rapi-

dity and skill, he might hope to separate, and attack them in detail. Thus in the secrets of art he found means that stood him in place of a deficiency of 100,000 men. This plan was conceived and executed with judgment and daring courage.

III. Third observation. The ardour of character of several generals was damped by the events of 1814. They had lost somewhat of that undaunted bravery, resolution and confidence, which so often acquired glory for them, and which so much contributed to the success of past campaigns.

1. On the fifteenth of June the third corps was to have been under arms at three o'clock in the morning, and to arrive before Charleroy at ten; but it did not arrive there until three in the afternoon.

2. On the same day orders were issued to attack the enemy in advance of the woods of Fleurus, at four in the afternoon, but it did not take place until seven. Night intervened before it was possible to enter Fleurus, where the chief of the army had intended to station his head quarters that day. This was

a serious loss of time, seven hours, in the opening of a campaign.

3. Ney received orders to march, on the 16th, with 43,000 men, forming the left of the army, which he commanded, in advance of Quatre Bras, there to take post at day break, and even to intrench himself. He delayed, and lost eight hours. The Prince of Orange, with only 9,000 men, kept this important position until three in the afternoon, on the 16th. When, at noon, the marshal received orders, dated at Fleurus, and was well aware that the Emperor was about engaging the Prussians, he marched on Quatre Bras, but only with the half of his forces, leaving the remainder two leagues in his rear, to cover his retreat. This reserve he forgot, until six in the evening, when in want of its support. In former campaigns, this general would have occupied the position in advance of Quatre Bras at six in the morning, have defeated or taken the whole of the Belgic division, and would have either turned the Prussian army, by detaching, on the road of Namur, a force which would have taken their line of battle in the rear, or, by a rapid movement on the road to Genappe, he would have

surprised and destroyed the Brunswick and the fifth English divisions, on their route from Brussels, and from thence marched to the attack of the first and third English divisions, advancing on the road of Nivelles, all without cavalry or artillery, and harassed by fatigue. Full of the ardour of attack, Ney forgot the troops not immediately under his eyes. The bravery of a commander in chief is as different from that of a general of division as this last ought to be from a captain of grenadiers.

4. The advance guard of the French army, on the 17th, did not arrive at Waterloo until six in the evening: if no vexatious delays had intervened, it would have been there at three. The Emperor appeared very much disappointed: he said, pointing to the sun, "What would I not give to have to-day the power of Joshua, only to retard its movement for two hours."

IV. Fourth observation. Never did French soldiers show more courage, good will and enthusiasm. They were impressed with sentiments of their superiority over all the soldiers of Europe. Their confidence in the emperor was unbounded, perhaps now

more than ever. But they were suspicious, and distrustful of their chiefs. The treason of 1814 they forgot not; every movement they did not comprehend made them suspicious, and they imagined themselves betrayed. When the first shot was fired near St. Amand, an old corporal approached the Emperor, and said to him, "Sire, mistrust Marshal Soult: you may rest assured he will betray us." "Be still," replied the Emperor, "I will answer for him as for myself." In the midst of the battle, an officer reported to Marshal Soult that General Vandamme had deserted to the enemy, that his soldiers loudly demanded that the Emperor should be informed of it. At the close of the battle a dragoon, with his sword all bloody, came up in great haste, crying "Sire, repair quickly to the division; General Henin is haranguing the dragoons to go over to the enemy." "Have you heard him?" "No, sire, but an officer, who is seeking you, has, and he ordered me to tell you." At this very time the brave General Henin had his leg taken off by a cannon ball, after having repulsed a charge of the enemy.

On the evening of the 14th, Lieutenant-general

Bourmont, Colonels Clouet and Viloutrey, of the staff, deserted from the fourth corps to the enemy. Their names will be held in execration as long as the French people shall form a nation. This desertion very much increased the suspicions of the soldiers. It is ascertained, almost without a doubt, that the cry of "Run, run," was made, in the fourth division of the first corps, on the evening of the battle of Waterloo, at the attack of the village of Haye by Marshal Blucher. This village was not defended as it ought to have been. It is equally probable that several officers, bearers of despatches, disappeared. Though some officers deserted, not a soldier was guilty of this crime. Several, who were left wounded on the field of battle, put an end to their lives, on hearing of the defeat of the army.

V. Fifth observation. On the fifteenth the French army was divided into three parts; 69,000 men under the orders of the Emperor, marching towards Brussels, by the road of Charleroy, 34,000 under the command of Marshal Grouchy directing their route towards the same town by the road of Wavres,

on which they were pursuing the Prussians, 7 or 8,000 men remaining on the field of battle at Ligny, namely 3,000 men of Girard's division attending on the wounded, and on any unforeseen occasion to form a reserve at Quatre Bras, 4 or 5,000 belonging to the parks of reserve, at Fleurus and Charleroy. Marshal Grouchy's command of 34,000 men, with 108 pieces of cannon, was competent to defeat the Prussian rear guard, in any position it might take, to harass the retreat of the routed army, and to keep it in check. This was the great result of the battle of Ligny, to be thus enabled, with an army of 34,000 men, to oppose one that had been 120,000. The 69,000 men, under the command of the Emperor, were sufficient to beat the English army of 90,000 men. The disproportion, which on the fifteenth, between the two hostile armies, was as one to two, had now been considerably changed, and was only as three to four. If the English army had defeated the 69,000 men opposed to it, Napoleon might have been reproached with having calculated badly: but it is beyond a doubt, and acknowledged by the enemy, that unless General Bulow had arrived, the English army would

have lost the field of battle, before three in the afternoon ; and even after General Bulow's arrival, which increased its force to 120,000 men, it would still have been defeated between eight and nine in the evening, had not Marshal Blucher made his appearance at eight, with his first and second corps. The march to Brussels in two columns, on the seventeenth, had several advantages. The left pressed and kept in check the English army. The right, under Marshal Grouchy, pursued and kept in check the Prussian army. At night the whole French army would be united in a line of five small leagues, from Mount St. Jean to Wavres, having its advanced posts on the borders of the forest. The fault committed by Marshal Grouchy, in encamping on the seventeenth at Gembloux, after having only performed a march of two small leagues, instead of continuing his route to Wavres, three leagues further, was aggravated and rendered irreparable by his fault of the next day, the eighteenth, in losing twelve hours, and not arriving before Wavres until four in the afternoon, in place of having been there at six in the morning.

1. Grouchy, with strict orders to pursue Marshal

Blucher, lost sight of him for twenty-four hours, from the seventeenth at four in the afternoon to the eighteenth at the same time.

2. The movement of the cavalry on the plain, before Bulow was repulsed, was a disastrous occurrence. It was the intention of the chief to have ordered this movement, but at an hour later, and to support it by the sixteen battalions of the guards, and one hundred pieces of artillery.

3. The horse grenadiers, and dragoons of the guards, commanded by General Guyot, attacked, without having received orders. Thus, at five in the afternoon, the army was without a reserve of cavalry. If this reserve had been in existence at half after eight, the storm which raged over the field of battle would have been layed, the charges of the enemy's cavalry repulsed, and the two armies would have reposed on the field of battle, notwithstanding the successive arrivals of General Bulow, and of Marshal Blucher. The advantage would still have been in favour of the French army, for the 34,000 men under Marshal Grouchy, with 108 pieces of artillery, were fresh, and would have bivouaqued on

the field of battle. The allied armies would have covered themselves in the night, by the forest of Soignes. In all battles it was a fixed rule, that the division of grenadiers and dragoons of the guards should not lose sight of the Emperor, nor charge without a verbal order given by him to their commanding general. Marshal Mortier, commander in chief of the guards, left them on the fifteenth at Beaumont, as hostilities were commencing. He was not replaced, which was attended with many inconveniences.

VI. Sixth observation. 1. The French army on the thirteenth and fourteenth manœuvred on the right of the Sambre, and on the night of the fourteenth, fifteenth, it encamped half a league from the Prussian out posts. Yet Marshal Blucher knew nothing of it: and when, in the morning of the fifteenth, intelligence reached him, at his head quarters of Namur, that the Emperor was entering Charleroy, the Prussian army was still cantoned over an extent of thirty leagues of country, and it would have required two days to assemble it. He ought on the fifteenth of May to have

fixed his head quarters at Fleurus, to have concentrated his army round him to the distance of eight leagues, having his advanced guard on the passes of the Meuse and Sambre. His army could then have been united at Ligny on the fifteenth, there to await the attack of the French army at noon, or in the evening of the same day, marched against it, to drive it on the Sambre.

2. Notwithstanding, Marshal Blucher, though surprised, persisted in his intent to unite his army on the heights of Ligny, behind Fleurus, braving the chance of being attacked, before the arrival of all his army. On the morning of the sixteenth he had only concentrated two of his army corps, and the French were already before Fleurus. The third arrived there during the day, but the fourth, commanded by General Bulow, could not participate in the battle. Marshal Blucher, as soon as he heard of the French being in possession of Charleroy, that is to say, in the evening of the fifteenth, ought not to have designated either Fleurus, or Ligny, already under the cannon of his enemy, as a rallying point, but Wavres, where the French could not arrive until the seventeenth. He

would then have had all the sixteenth and the following night to unite his whole army.

The Prussian general after having lost the battle of Ligny, in place of retreating on Wavres, ought to have effected a junction with Wellington; either at Quatre Bras, which was in his possession, or at Waterloo. The whole retreat of Marshal Blucher on the morning of the seventeenth, was preposterous; for the two armies, which were only separated by an extent of 3,000 toises on the evening of the sixteenth, and with a good road between them, from which they might be considered as united, were, on the evening of the seventeenth, distant from one another upward of 10,000 toises, and separated by defiles and impassable roads.

The Prussian general violated the three great rules of war: 1. By not keeping his cantonments concentrated. 2. By not having assigned a place of rendezvous where his different corps would have arrived before the enemy. 3. By not retiring on his co-operating forces.

VII. Seventh observation. 1. The Duke of Wellington was surprised in his cantonments. He ought,

on the fifteenth of May, to have concentrated them to within eight leagues round Brussels, having advanced guards on the roads to Flanders. The French army had, for three days, manœuvred in the vicinity of his out posts ; it had moreover commenced hostilities for twenty four hours; its head quarters were twelve hours at Charleroy, yet during all this time the English general at Brussels knew nothing of it, and all his cantonments were in perfect security, occupying an extent of twenty leagues of ground.

2. The prince of Saxe Weimar, who commanded in the English army, was on the fifteenth at four in the afternoon in position in advance of Frasne, and knew that the French army was at Charleroy. If he had immediately sent an aid-de-camp to Brussels, he would have arrived there at six in the evening ; yet it was not until eleven that the Duke of Wellington was informed of the arrival of the French army at Charleroy. He thus lost five hours, in circumstances and against a man, where every hour was of the greatest importance.

3. The infantry, cavalry and artillery of the English army were separately cantoned ; so that the infan-

try was engaged at Quatre Bras, without cavalry or artillery. This occasioned a great loss, for they were forced to remain in close column, to face the charges of the cuirassiers, while fifty pieces of cannon were pouring grape shot on them. These brave men were thus butchered without cavalry to protect, or artillery to cover them. As these three descriptions of troops require the assistance of each other every moment in action, they ought always to be conveniently cantoned to one another.

4. The English general, though surprised, designated Quatre Bras as the rallying point for his army, though for twenty-four hours at the mercy of the French. He exposed his troops to be beaten in detail, as they arrived; to still greater danger by sending them off without artillery or cavalry. He threw his infantry by detachments, and without the assistance of the two other branches of the army, into the power of the enemy. His point of concentration should have been Waterloo. He would then have had all the seventeenth, and the following night, which would have been sufficient to assemble there all his army, infantry, cavalry and artillery. The French

could not have arrived there until the seventeenth, and would have found his army in position.

VIII. Eighth observation. 1. The English general, on the eighteenth, fought the battle of Waterloo. This was contrary to the interests of his nation, and to the general plan of campaign adopted by the allies. It moreover violated all the rules of war. It was not the interest of England, who requires such numbers of men to recruit her armies in India, in the American colonies, and in her other vast possessions, lightly to expose them to a murderous contest, by which she might lose the only army she had, and which, at least, would shed the best blood of the nation. The plan of the allies was to act in a body, and not to engage in any partial affair. Nothing could be more contrary to their interest and their views, than exposing the success of their cause in a precarious battle, with nearly equal forces, and the probabilities against them. If the English army had been destroyed at Waterloo, of what service would those numerous armies, preparing to cross the Rhine, the Alps and Pyrenees, have been to the allies?

2. The English general, in determining to receive battle at Waterloo, did it upon the expectation of the co-operation of the Prussians; now this could not take place until afternoon. He would therefore be exposed alone, from four in the morning until five in the evening, that is to say, during thirteen hours. A battle does not generally last longer than six; this co-operation was therefore illusory.

To calculate on the co-operation of the Prussians, he must have supposed the whole French army before him; he therefore undertook with 90,000 men of different nations, to maintain his battle ground against 104,000 Frenchmen. This was certainly a false calculation. He could not have held out three hours; all would have been over by eight o'clock in the morning, and the Prussians would have arrived just in time to be taken in rear. In one day both these armies would have been destroyed. If he took into consideration, that a part of the French army, would, conformably to the rules of war, follow the Prussian army; it must then have been evident to him, that they could render him no assistance: for the Prussians beaten at Ligny, having lost from 25 to

30,000 men on the field of battle, and 20,000 dispersed, followed by from 35 to 40,000 victorious Frenchmen, could not have weakened their forces, and would have scarcely thought their strength sufficient for their own defence. In this case the English army must alone have sustained the attack of 69,000 Frenchmen, during the whole of the eighteenth. There is not an Englishman but will acknowledge, that the result of the action was by no means doubtful, and that their army, constituted as it was, could not have sustained the attack of the imperial army four hours.

During the night of the 17th-18th, the weather was extremely bad, which rendered the ground impassable until nine in the morning. This loss of six hours from the dawn of day was all in favour of the enemy; but is it possible that the enemy's general could rest the result of such a contest upon the weather of the night of the 17th-18th? Marshal Grouchy, with 34,000 men and 108 pieces of cannon, found out the secret, which seemed undiscoverable, of being, on the eighteenth, neither on the field of battle of Mount St. Jean nor at Wavres. But had the English general

the assurance of the marshal, that he would so strangely go astray? The conduct of Marshal Grouchy was as unforeseen as if an earthquake had swallowed up his army on its route.

2. *Recapitulation.* If Marshal Grouchy had been on the field of battle of Mount St. Jean, as the English and Prussian generals were persuaded, during the night of the seventeenth-eighteenth, and the following morning, and the weather had permitted the French army to form its line of battle, at four in the morning, before seven the English army would have been cut to pieces and completely destroyed. Should the weather not have permitted the French army to form until ten, at one the destinies of the English army would have been fixed. Its remnants would have been thrown beyond the forest, or in the direction of Halle; and there would have been sufficient time, in the evening, to march to the encounter of Marshal Blucher, who would have been subjected to a like disaster. If Marshal Grouchy had encamped before Wavres, the night of the seventeenth-eighteenth, the Prussian army would have sent no de-

tachments to succour the English army, and it would have been completely beaten by the 69,000 Frenchmen opposed to it.

3. The position of Mount St. Jean was ill chosen.

- The first condition of a field of battle is to have no defiles in the rear. During the battle, the English general did not know how to use his numerous cavalry. He did not imagine that he ought and would be attacked on his left, but supposed it would take place on his right. Notwithstanding the diversion in his favour by General Bulow's 30,000 Prussians, he would twice that day have effected his retreat, had it been possible. Thus, in fact, O strange caprice of human events! the bad choice of his field of battle, which rendered all retreat impossible, was the cause of his success!!!

IX. Ninth observation. It may be asked what ought the English general to have done after the battle of Ligny, and the engagement at Quatre Bras? Posterity will not be divided in opinion. He ought in the night of the seventeenth, eighteenth, to have

traversed the forest of Soignes, on the road of Charleroy. The Prussian army should also have passed through it on the road of Wavres. The two armies would have united at day break near Brussels; have left rear guards to defend the forest, have gained a few days to give time to the Prussians dispersed by the battle of Ligny to join their army, have reinforced itself with the fourteen English regiments either in garrison on the Belgic fortresses, or just disembarked at Ostend from America, and have left the French Emperor to manœuvre as he thought proper. Would he have traversed the forest of Soignes with an army of 100,000 men, to attack, on coming out of it, two armies amounting together to 200,000 men, and in position? This certainly would be the most advantageous thing that could happen for the allies. Would the Emperor then himself take position? This inaction however could not last long, for 300,000 Russians, Austrians, Bayarians, &c. had arrived on the Rhine, and in a few weeks they would be on the Marne—this would force him to march to the succour of his capital. It was then the English

and Prussian armies should have marched to join the allies before Paris. They would have run no risk, would have sustained no loss, would have acted conformably to the interests of the English nation, to the general plan of campaign of the allies, and to the rules of the art of war. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth, the Duke of Wellington constantly manœuvred as his enemy desired; and performed nothing that he was fearful he might. The English infantry was firm and solid, but the cavalry might have done better. The English army was twice saved during the day by the Prussians: the first time before three o'clock, by the arrival of General Bulow with 30,000 men; and the second time by the arrival of Marshal Blucher with 31,000. In that day's contest 69,000 Frenchmen defeated 120,000 men; victory was however snatched from them between eight and nine o'clock, but by 150,000 men.

What would have been the reflections of the people of England, on hearing of the catastrophe of their army, and that the best blood of the nation was prodigally spilt to support the cause of kings against the

people, privileged orders against equality, high toned aristocracy against liberty, the impious principles of the holy alliance against the sovereignty of the people!!!

196

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NOTE.

The first chapter being very succinct, it has appeared expedient to annex thirteen documents, most of which are official ; these will serve to convey much useful information concerning the topics discussed in that chapter. It was thought that the reader would like to have before him the four additional papers, tending to illustrate the third chapter, and recording the state of agitation which existed in France during the first fortnight of April, 1815.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE FIRST CHAPTER.

- No. 1.—Official Report of Napoleon's return from the
Island of Elba to Paris, published in the *Moniteur*
of the 23d of March (No. 82.) . . . page 209
- No. 2.—Proclamation of his Majesty the Emperor
to the French People 224
- No. 3.—Proclamation of His Majesty the Emperor
to the Army 227
- No. 4.—The Generals, Officers, and Soldiers of the
Imperial Guard, to the Generals, Officers, and Sol-
diers of the Army 231
- No. 5.—Address of the Council of State, presented
the 26th of March 238
- No. 6.—Council of Ministers 241
- No. 7.—Ordinance of the King containing Measures
of General Safety 256
- No. 8.—Letter to Count Grouchy 258
- No. 9.—Address of the Champ de Mai 260
- No. 10.—Speech pronounced by his Majesty at the
Champ de Mai 265
- No. 11.—Speech pronounced by His Majesty in the
Imperial Sitting of the 8th of June 268
- No. 12.—Address of the Chamber of Peers of the
11th of June, and the Answer of his Majesty 270
- No. 13.—Address of the Representatives, and the
Answer of His Majesty 272

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF CHAPTER III.

- No. 1.—Exposition of the Events which took place in the South of France, from the 24th of March, 1815, to the 17th of April of the same Year . . . 277
- No. 2.—Account of the Events which took place in Bordeaux, at the end of March, 1815 . . . 289
- No. 3.—Report of Lieutenant-General Count Delaborde, to His Excellency, Marshal, Prince of Eckmühl, Minister of War . . . 301
- No. 4.—Report of Marshal, Prince of Essling, of the 24th of April, 1815 . . . 306

TABLES.

- Table A.*—Military Situation of France in March, 1815.
- Table B.*—Organization* of the French Army to 800,000 men, 1st of September, 1815.
- Table C.*—Arms.
- Table D.*—Military Situation of France on the 1st of June, 1815.
- Table E.*—Detail of the Situation of the Army of the Line, on the 1st of June, 1815.
- Table F.*—Organization of the Army of the Line, in Corps and Armies.
- Table G.*—Statement of the Strength of the Anglo-Belgian Army, assembled in Flanders, on the 15th of June, 1815.

(A.)

MILITARY SITUATION OF FRANCE IN MARCH, 1815.

| | EFFECTIVE ARMY. | | READY to take THE FIELD. | | OBSERVATIONS. |
|---|--------------------|---------|--------------------------------|---------|--|
| | Men. | Horses. | Men. | Horses. | |
| 102 Regiments of infantry of the line . . | 91,000 | - | 61,200 | " | { These regiments were dismissed on the 20th March, which is the reason why they are noted here. |
| 4 Regiments of foreign infantry (Swiss) | 4,000 | - | - | - | |
| 4 Regiments of infantry of the old guard | 4,000 | - | 3,300 | " | { Produced only 11,000 men, ow- ing to the deficiency in the num- ber of horses. |
| 57 Regiments of cavalry of the line . . | 25,000 | 16,000 | 11,000 | 11,000 | |
| 4 Regiments of cavalry of the old guard | 3,200 | 3,000 | 2,800 | 2,800 | { These 12,000 men are in pro- portion to the army. |
| 12 Regiments of artillery of the line . . | 16,000 | - | 12,000 | - | |
| Artillery of the old guard | " | " | " | " | |
| Engineers of the line | 5,000 | - | 3,000 | " | |
| Engineers of the old guard | " | " | " | " | |
| Wagon corps of the line | 1,000 | - | 600 | " | |
| Wagon corps of the old guard | " | " | " | " | |
| | 149,200 | 19,000 | 93,900 | 13,800 | |

N. B. Besides 12,000 gendarmes (or military police), and 10,000 veterans.

(B.)

ORGANIZATION OF THE FRENCH ARMY, TO 800,000 MEN, 1st OF SEPTEMBER, 1815.

SUB-DIVISIONS.

102 Regiments of the line, forming 510 battalions of 880 men - - - 428,400
 12 Foreign battalions - - - 10,800
 52 Battalions of the imperial guard - 31,200
 10 Squadrons of select gendarmerie - 0,300
 57 Regiments of cavalry - - - 57,000
 4 Regiments of cavalry of the guard - 4,000
 Horse and foot artillery, wagon train, pontoon corps, pioneers, workmen, drivers of military stores, including the guard - - - - - 50,000

EXTRAORDINARY ARMY.

200 Batts. selected from the national guard 112,200
 48 Battalions of ditto from Dauphiny, Languedoc, and La Gironde } 26,800
 10 Battalions of marine artillery - 10,000
 20 Regiments of seamen - - - 30,000
 10 Regiments of veterans - - - 10,000
 Coast-guards - - - - - 6,000
 Battalions of officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers on half-pay } 30,000

809,200

SOLDIERS.

These sub-divisions were to be completed by—

1st 145,000 men, effective on the 1st of March, deducting from the effective number the 4 Swiss regiments which were dismissed at the end of May - - - - - 145,200
 2d The enrolment of the military on half-pay 130,000
 3d From the conscrip. of 1815, received in June 80,000
 4th From do. to be received in July and August 20,000
 5th The summons to 250,000 men, which was to be made in July - - - - - 250,000
 6th The 200 select battalions of national guards 112,000
 7th The 48 ditto of the South of France - 26,800
 8th Battalions of marine artillery - - 6,000
 9th The summons, of 4,000 marine artillery-men on half-pay - - - - - 4,000
 10th 30,000 seamen of the former fleets - 30,000
 11th Battalions of veterans existing in March 10,000
 12th Summons to 30,000 men on half pay - 30,000
 13th Foreign regiments, Piedmontese, Italians, Spaniards, Irish, Flemings, &c. } 14,000

858,000

(C.)

| ARMS. | |
|--|-----------|
| Arms in possession of the Soldiers in March, 1815 - - - - - | 150,000 |
| In the Magazines - - - - - | 150,000 |
| Additional supplies from the manufactories, during April, May, June, July, August, and September - - - - - | 240,000 |
| Extra manufactories established at Paris, and in all the fortified towns, whether for repairing muskets, new stocked, spare arms, or for new guns, for April and May | 60,000 |
| For June - - - - - | 120,000 |
| For July, August, and September - | 450,000 |
| Total - - - - - | 1,170,000 |

(d)

MILITARY SITUATION OF FRANCE ON THE 1ST OF JUNE, 1815.

| ARMY OF THE LINE. | | EXTRAORDINARY ARMY. | |
|--|---------|---|---------|
| Under arms. | Depots. | Employed in guarding the fortresses and coasts. | |
| Each of the regiments of the line has furnished 2 battalions of 600 men to the army in the field, leaving in depot its 3d, 4th, and 5th battalions | 126,000 | 85,000 | 211,000 |
| Regiments of foreign infantry | - | 8,000 | 8,000 |
| Infantry of the guard | 14,000 | 10,000 | 24,000 |
| 10 Squadrons of gendarmerie serving in the army of La Vendée, count as infantry | 3,000 | - | 3,000 |
| As cavalry | 1,500 | - | 1,500 |
| 57 Regiments of cavalry of the line | 28,500 | 17,000 | 45,500 |
| Cavalry of the guard | 4,000 | 2,000 | 6,000 |
| Artillery of the line | 22,000 | 12,000 | 34,000 |
| Artillery of the guard | 400 | 100 | 500 |
| Wagon train of the line | 6,000 | 2,000 | 8,000 |
| Wagon train of the guard | 2,000 | 1,000 | 3,000 |
| | 217,400 | 146,100 | 363,500 |
| 200 Battalions of select national guards, of 560 men each | | | 112,000 |
| 20 Regiments of seamen | | | 30,000 |
| 10 Battalions marine artillery-men | | | 8,000 |
| Coast-guards | | | 6,000 |
| Veterans | | | 10,000 |
| Military on half pay and reduced, placed in garrison | | | 30,000 |
| | | | 196,000 |

SUMMARY { Effective force of the army of the line
Effective force of the extraordinary army

N. B. In this statement the 12,000 men of the gendarmerie, in the margin, and employed in the police of the interior are not comprised. In June there was therefore 146,000 men at the depots. In July there were 200,000 to be raised. By supposing that on the 15th of August, 100,000 of them should have arrived at the depots, that would increase them to 246,000 men. At that period, 100,000 men were necessary for recruiting the army near Paris, 18,000 men for that near Lyons. Total 118,000 men. Further and not equipped, 40,000 men for the garrison at Paris, and 10,000 men for that of Lyons. Total 50,000 men. General N. would therefore remain at the depots for the divisions, the *sabots*, &c. 73,000 men, who would be augmented with 100,000 men in September, by the completion of the levy of the 200,000 men.

DETAIL OF THE SITUATION OF THE ARMY OF THE LINE, ON THE 1st OF JUNE, 1815.

| | On the 1st March, 1815. | | | | | On 1st June, 1815. | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--|--|------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| | In arms disposable. | Depots organising. | Effective on 1st March. | | | Summons of retired Military. | Conscription of 1815. | In arms disposable. | Depots organising. | Effective on 1st June. |
| 102 Regiments of infantry of the line | 61,200 | 29,800 | 91,000 | | | 70,000 | 50,000 | 126,000 | 85,000 | 211,000 |
| Foreign regiments | | | 4,000 | | | | | | 8,000 | 8,000 |
| Regiments of infantry of the guard | 3,300 | 700 | 4,000 | | | 10,000 | 10,000 | 14,000 | 10,000 | 24,000 |
| Regiments of cavalry of the line | 11,000 | 14,000 | 25,000 | | | 15,000 | 5,500 | 28,500 | 17,000 | 45,000 |
| 4 Regiments of cavalry of the guard | 2,800 | 400 | 3,200 | | | 2,800 | | 4,000 | 2,000 | 6,000 |
| Artillery of the line | 12,000 | 4,000 | 16,000 | | | 14,000 | 4,000 | 22,000 | 12,000 | 34,000 |
| Artillery of the guard | | | | | | 5,000 | 2,000 | 4,000 | 3,000 | 7,000 |
| Engineers of the line | 3,000 | 2,000 | 5,000 | | | 5,000 | 2,000 | 6,000 | 6,000 | 12,000 |
| Ditto of the guard | | | | | | 500 | | 400 | 100 | 500 |
| Wagon corps | 600 | 400 | 1,000 | | | 4,000 | 3,000 | 6,000 | 2,000 | 8,900 |
| Ditto of the guard | | | | | | 2,000 | 1,000 | 2,000 | 1,000 | 3,000 |
| Gendarmerie on service | | | | | | | | 4,500 | | 4,500 |
| | 93,900 | 51,300 | 149,200 | | | 128,300 | 77,500 | 217,400 | 146,100 | 363,500 |

Besides 12,000 gendarmes for the police of the interior of the empire, and 10,000 veterans.

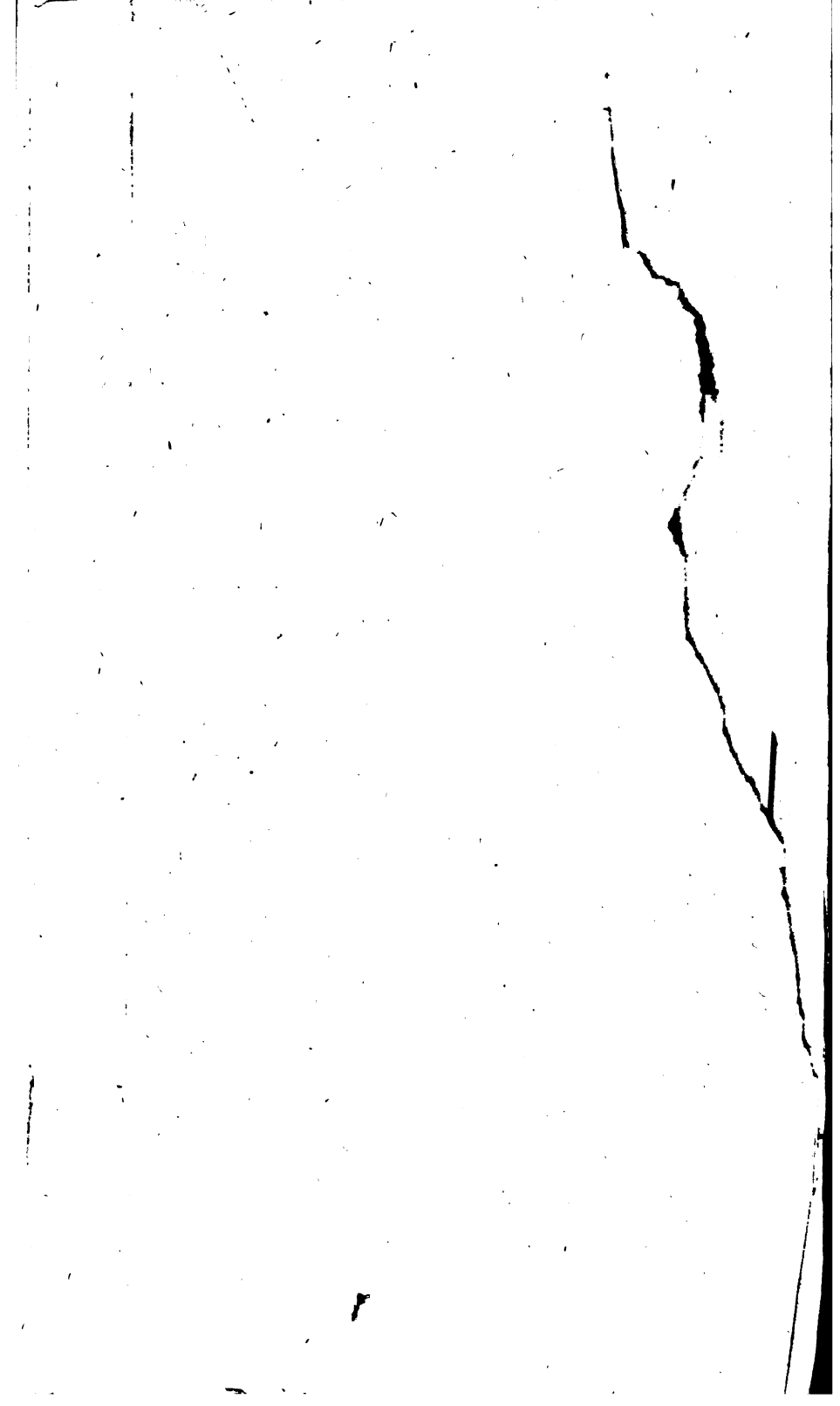
ND ARMIES.

SITUATION ON 15th JUNE, 1815.

Strength of the Corps

in page 58.

| | | | |
|-----|--------|---------|----|
| 930 | | | |
| 500 | 2,150 | 18,402 | 54 |
| 650 | | | |
| 292 | 1,892 | | |
| 600 | | | |
| 800 | | | |
| 100 | 15,860 | | |
| 960 | | | |
| 500 | 650 | 17,726 | 38 |
| 150 | | | |
| 816 | 1,116 | | |
| 300 | | | |
| 900 | | | |
| 400 | 21,520 | | |
| 960 | | | |
| 960 | | | |
| 500 | 650 | 23,136 | 32 |
| 150 | | | |
| 816 | 966 | | |
| 150 | | | |
| 900 | | | |
| 400 | 21,520 | | |
| 960 | | | |
| 960 | | | |
| 500 | 650 | 23,136 | 32 |
| 150 | | | |
| 816 | 966 | | |
| 150 | | | |
| 200 | | | |
| 920 | | | |
| 000 | 10,820 | | |
| 400 | | | |
| 300 | | | |
| 300 | | | |
| 0 | | | |
| 0 | 7,100 | | |
| 0 | | | |
| 400 | | 20,520 | 70 |
| 400 | | | |
| 0 | | | |
| 0 | | | |
| 0 | | | |
| 0 | | | |
| 0 | | | |
| 000 | | | |
| 600 | 2,600 | | |
| | | 380,252 | |



(G.)

STATEMENT OF THE STRENGTH OF THE ANGLO-BELGIAN ARMY ASSEMBLED IN FLANDERS, ON 15th JUNE, 1815.

| Description of Forces. | Divisions. | TROOPS | | Numbers of Regiments. | Strength in Brigades. | Strength in Divisions. | Strength in Armies. | Strength in Corps. | | | |
|--|---|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | | Composing the Divisions. | | | | | | | | | |
| Infantry. | 1st Gen. Cooke | 1st Brig. of Brit. guards | 1 & 3 | 1,800 | 3,500 | 8,800 | 41,300 | 73,000 | | | |
| | 2d do. | do. | 2 & 3 | 1,700 | | | | | | | |
| | 3d Bar. Alten | 5th Brigade of British | 30 33 67 73 | 2,600 | | | | | | | |
| | 7th Lieut. Gen. Collaert | 1st do. Ger. light infan. | 5 8 1 & 2 leg. | 3,000 | 8,800 | 8,000 | | | 41,300 | 73,000 | |
| | 8th Lieut. Gen. Chassé | 3d do. Hanoverian | 4 battalions | 3,200 | | | | | | | |
| | 9th Lieut. Gen. Perponcher | Dutch, Flemings . . | 12 do. | 7,500 | | | | | | | |
| | 10th H. S. II. the Duke of Brunswick | Dutch, Flemings . . | 12 do. | 7,500 | 8,000 | 6,000 | | | 41,300 | 73,000 | |
| | 2d Sir H. Clinton | Dutch, Flemings, Nassau | 12 do. | 8,000 | | | | | | | |
| | 4th General C. Colville | Brunswickers . . | 8 do. | 6,000 | | | | | | | |
| | 5th Sir T. Picton | 3d Brigade of British | 52 71 95 | 2,700 | 8,900 | 7,100 | | | 31,700 | 73,000 | |
| | 6th Sir J. Lambert | 2d do. German legion | 1 2 3 4 | 3,000 | | | | | | | |
| | 7th Sir N. H. Vivian | 3d do. Hanoverian | 14 23 51 | 1,900 | | | | | | | |
| | 8th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 4th do. do. | 35 54 59 91 | 2,000 | 9,200 | 9,200 | | | 31,700 | 73,000 | |
| | 9th Col. Astorf | 6th do. Hanoverians | 28 32 79 91 | 3,000 | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 8th Brigade of British | 1 42 44 92 | 3,000 | | | | | | | | |
| Cavalry. | 1st Lord Somerset | 9th do. do. | 3,200 | 6,500 | 2,500 | 1,875 | | | 20,000 | 11,200 | |
| | 2d Sir W. Ponsonby | 5th do. Hanoverians | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3d Sir W. Dornberg | 10th Brigade of British | 4 27 40 81 | | | | | | | | 3,300 |
| | 4th Sir Ormsby Vandeleur | 4th do. Hanoverians | 1 2 3 4 | 3,000 | 6,500 | 1,875 | | | 20,000 | 11,200 | |
| | 5th Sir G. Grant | 1st & 2d life guards | 1 250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | |
| | 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st drag. guards roy. horse guards blue | 1 350 | 1,350 | | | | | | | |
| | 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 1st, 2d, & 6th Dragoons | 1 1,375 | 1,375 | 1,875 | 1,825 | | | 20,000 | 11,200 | |
| | 8th Col. Astorf | 1st & 2d Light dragoons of the German legion | 1 1,200 | 1,200 | | | | | | | |
| | 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 23d Dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | |
| | Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | | | 20,000 | 11,200 | |
| | | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | |
| | | 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | |
| | | 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | | | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 |
| | | 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
| 10th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | 2d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | | | | | | | | |
| 7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6th Sir N. H. Vivian | 1st Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 7th Sir F. d' Arentschild | 18th Light Dragoons, & 10th Hussars | 1 1,250 | 1,250 | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
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| Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars | 1 2,000 | 2,000 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| | Dutch and Flemish cavalry | 1 3,200 | 3,200 | | | | | | | | |
| | Brunswick cavalry | 1 1,800 | 1,800 | | | | | | | | |
| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
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| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
| 9th Artill. Engin. Waggon Train, having 250 Guns | 13th Light dragoons | 1 625 | 625 | | | | | | | | |
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| | 11th, 12th, & 16th Light dragoons | 1 1,875 | 1,875 | 1,850 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
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| 8th Col. Astorf | 3d Hussars of German legion | 1 600 | 600 | 1,825 | 1,825 | 20,000 | 11,200 | | | | |
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| Artill. Engin. Wag | | | | | | | | | | | |

Total strength of the Anglo-Belgian army 104,200 men, 250 pieces of cannon. Besides 14 regiments of British infantry recently landed at Ostend, or in garrison at fortresses in Flanders.

OFFICIAL PAPERS,

REFERRED TO IN

CHAPTER FIRST.

No. I.

Official Relation of the March of Napoleon from the Isle of Elba to Paris, published in the Moniteur of the 23d March, 1815.

THE Emperor informed that the people in France had lost all their rights obtained by twenty-five years of battles and of victories, and that the army was attached to its glory, determined to change this state of things, to re-establish the imperial throne which alone can guarantee the rights of the nation, and to extinguish this royal throne which the people had proscribed as not securing the interests but of a small number of individuals.

The 26th February, at five o'clock in the evening, he embarked in a brig of twenty-six guns, with 400 men of his guard. Three other vessels were in the

harbour, and (which were seized) received on board 200 men, infantry, 100 Poland light horse, and the battalion of flankers, 200 strong. The wind was southerly and appeared favourable. Captain Choulard hoped that before day-break the island of Capua would be doubled, and that we should be off the cruising ground of the French and English who watched this coast. This hope was baffled. We had hardly doubled Cape St. Andrew of the island of Elba, before the wind lulled so that it became calm; at day-break we had only made six leagues, and we were still between the islands of Capua and Elba, in sight of the cruisers.

The danger appeared imminent. Many sea-faring persons were of opinion that it was absolutely necessary to return to Porto Ferrajo. The emperor gave orders to keep on their course, having, in the last extremity, the plan of going among the French cruisers. The squadron was composed of two frigates and a brig; but we well knew that the attachment of their crews to the national glory did not leave a doubt that they would hoist the tri-coloured flag and range themselves on our side. Towards noon the wind freshened a little. At four P. M. we descried the mountains of Leghorn. A frigate hove in sight five leagues to leeward, another was on the coast of Corsica, and at a distance we saw a man of war. At six o'clock, P. M. the brig on board of which was the Emperor, saw a brig which we knew to be the Zephyr, Captain Andrieux, an officer distinguished as much by his talents as his patriotism. It was

at first suggested to speak the brig and make her hoist the tri-coloured flag. The Emperor, however, gave orders to the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps, and to lay down on deck, preferring to pass the brig without making ourselves known, and leaving the plan of making her change her flag only in case we were obliged to do it. The two brigs passed close to each other. Lieutenant Taillade of the French marine, was well known to Captain Andrieux, and when able we hailed her. We asked Captain Andrieux whether he had any commands for Genoa; several civilities were exchanged, and the two brigs going opposite ways, were soon out of sight, without any suspicion on the part of the captain of the Zephyr, what this frail vessel contained!

In the night of the 27th and 28th, the wind increased. At day-break we saw a seventy-four gun ship, who appeared to be steering for St. Florence or Sardinia. We soon observed that this vessel paid no attention to the brig.

The 28th, at seven o'clock in the morning, we descried the coast of Noli, at noon Antibes. At three o'clock, the first of March, we entered the Gulf of Juan.

The Emperor ordered the captain of the guard, with twenty-five men, to land before the rest of the soldiers on board the brig, to secure the battery of the coast, if one was to be found. This captain, of his own accord, conceived the idea of making the battalion which was in Antibes, change cockades. He threw himself imprudently into the place; the

officer who commanded for the king, raised the draw-bridges and shut the gates: the garrison flew to arms; but it respected these old soldiers and their cockade, which they venerated. Nevertheless, the operations of the captain failed, and his men remained prisoners in Antibes.

At five o'clock in the afternoon, the landing in the Gulf of Juan was completed. We encamped on the sea-shore until the moon rose.

At eleven o'clock at night the Emperor put himself at the head of this handful of heroes, to whose fate was attached such high destinies.

Proceeding to Cannes, from thence to Grasse, and by St. Vallier, he arrived in the evening of the 2d at the village of Ceneron, having travelled the first day, twenty leagues. The people of Cannes received the Emperor with those sentiments, which were the first presage of the success of the enterprise. The 3d, the Emperor slept at Bareme; the 4th he dined at Digne. From Castellane to Digne, and in all the department of the Lower Alps, the peasants, informed of the route of the Emperor, flocked from all quarters to the road, and manifested their sentiments with an energy which no longer left any doubts.

The 5th, General Cambronne, with an advanced guard of forty grenadiers, took possession of the bridge and fortress of Sisteron.

The same day the Emperor slept at Gap, with ten light horse and forty grenadiers.

The enthusiasm with which the presence of the Emperor inspired the inhabitants of the Lower Alps;

the hatred which they bore to the nobility, sufficiently marked the general wish of the province of Dauphiny. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th, the whole population of the city was on the road he took.

At St. Bonnet, the inhabitants seeing the small number of his troops, and giving way to their fears, proposed to the Emperor to sound the tocsin, to call together the villagers to accompany him in a body. "No," said the Emperor, "your sentiments convince me that I am not deceived in my calculations. They are for me a pledge of the sentiments of my soldiers. Those whom I shall meet will range themselves on my side; the more numerous they are, the more my success will be assured. Remain tranquil then in your houses."

Many thousand proclamations were printed at Gap, addressed by the Emperor to the army and the people, and by the soldiers of the guard to their brother soldiers. These proclamations were spread with the rapidity of lightning throughout the department of Dauphiny.

The same day the Emperor slept at Gorp. The forty men of the advanced guard of General Cambronne went and slept as far as Mure. They met the advanced guard of a division of 6,000 regular troops, who left Grenoble to stop their progress. General Cambronne wished to talk with the advanced posts. They answered him that they had orders to have no communication with them. Nevertheless, this advanced guard of the division of Grenoble

fell back three leagues and took post between the lakes of the village of ——. The Emperor, informed of this circumstance, proceeded to the spot; he found on the opposite line a battalion of the fifth regulars, a company of sappers, a company of miners, in all from 7 to 800 men. He sent his officer in waiting, the chief of the troops, Roul, to make known to those men the news of his arrival, but this officer could not be heard—they constantly telling him of the positive orders they had to hold no correspondence with them. The Emperor alighted, and went forthwith to the battalion, followed by the imperial guard with their arms reversed. He made himself known, and said, that the first soldier who wished to kill his Emperor might do it, the unanimous shout of *live the Emperor!* was their answer. This brave regiment had been under the orders of the Emperor from his first campaigns in Italy. The guard and the soldiers kissed each other. The soldiers of the fifth tore out their cockade, and took with enthusiasm and with tears in their eyes, the tri-coloured cockade. When they were mustered the Emperor said to them, "I come with a handful of brave men, because I reckon on the people and on you; the throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate, because it was not raised by the nation; it is contrary to the national will, because it is opposed to the interests of our country, and exists only in the interests of some families. Ask your fathers, ask all those inhabitants who arrive here from the country round: you will learn from their own mouths the real situation of things; they are

threatened with the return of the tithes, of the privileges of the feudal rights, and of all those abuses from which your successes had delivered you; is it not true, peasants?" "Yes, sire," cried they with an unanimous shout, "they wanted to bind us to the land. You come, like an angel of the Lord, to save us!"

The heroes of the battalion of the fifth requested to march the first on the division which covered Grenoble. They began their march in the midst of a multitude of inhabitants, who increased every instant. Vizille distinguished itself by its enthusiasm: "It is here that the revolution was born," said these faithful people! "It is we who were the first to reclaim the privileges of men; it is still on this spot where French liberty again springs up, and where France recovers her honour and independence."

Although oppressed with fatigue, the Emperor was anxious to enter Grenoble that evening. Between Vizille and Grenoble a young officer of the seventh regiment came to announce that colonel Labedoyere, actuated by the noblest sentiments, and hurt at the dishonour with which France was stained, would abandon the division of troops of Grenoble, and would come by a forced march to meet the emperor with his regiment. In half an hour this brave regiment arrived to increase the force of the imperial troops. At nine, that evening, the Emperor made his entry at the Fauxbourg.

The troops entered Grenoble, and the gates of the city were shut. The ramparts which were to defend

the city were covered with soldiers, composed of the third regiment of the corps of engineers, consisting of about 2000 sapeurs, all old soldiers covered with honourable wounds; of the fourth regiment of artillery—the same regiment in which, twenty-five years before, the Emperor had been appointed a captain; of two battalions of the fifth, of the eleventh, and the faithful hussars of the fourth.

The national guard and the whole populace of Grenoble were in rear of the garrison, and all made the air resound with the cry of “*long live the Emperor.*” The gates were forced, and at ten o’clock the Emperor entered Grenoble in the midst of an army and of a people animated with the most lively enthusiasm. The next morning the Emperor was addressed by the municipality and by all the state authorities. All united in declaring that “a prince imposed upon them by foreign force was not a *legitimate prince*,” and they could not be bound by engagements towards princes whom the nation rejected.

At two o’clock the Emperor reviewed the troops, surrounded by the whole population of the department, amid the shouts of “*Down with the Bourbons. Down with the enemies of the people. Long live the Emperor, and a government of our own choice.*” The garrison of Grenoble, immediately afterwards set out to reach Lyons by a forced march.

It is here worthy of remark, that almost at the same moment these 6000 men were decorated with the national cockade, and every one of them was old

and had been used before, for in quitting their tri-coloured cockade, they had not destroyed them, but had concealed them in the bottom of their knapsacks; not one was purchased or made at Grenoble! "It is the same," said they as they passed by the Emperor, "it is the same which I wore at Austerlitz." "This cockade," exclaims another, "I had at Marengo!"

On the 9th the Emperor slept at Burgoin. Here the crowd and enthusiasm of the people, if possible, increased. "We have been a long time expecting you," say these brave people to the Emperor—"at length you have arrived to deliver France from the insolence of the nobility, from the intolerance of superstitious priests, and from the shameful yoke of foreigners."

From Grenoble to Lyons the emperor's journey was one continued triumph. He was in his carriage, which moved at a slow pace, surrounded by a crowd of peasants, singing songs of joy, expressive of the noble sentiments of the brave inhabitants of Dauphiny—"Ah!" said the Emperor, "here again I find those sentiments which twenty years ago I made, and salute France by the name of a great nation—Yes! you are still and will always remain *le grande nation*."

In the mean time the Count d'Artois, the Duke d'Orleans, and many of the marshals, had arrived at Lyons. Gold had been profusely distributed among the troops, and promises to their officers. They were about to destroy the bridges of La Guillotiere

and Morand. The Emperor ridiculed their preparation. He had no doubt of the friendly disposition of the people of Lyons, he was assured of the fidelity of the troops. He, however, gave orders to General Bertrand to construct a bridge of boats at Mirbel, intending to pass over at night and to intercept (on the roads to Moulines and Macon) the prince who wished to dispute with him the passage of the Rhone. At four o'clock, a reconnoitering party of the fourth hussars arrived at La Guillotiere, with the cry of "long live the Emperor." The passage of Mirbel was immediately countermanded, and the Emperor set off at full gallop for Lyons at the head of the very troops who were to have opposed his entry.

The Comte d'Artois had done every thing in his power to inspire his troops with ardour. He did not know that in France, it is impossible for a foreign agent to succeed—if he is opposed to the honour of the nation and the people's cause. Passing by the thirteenth regiment of dragoons, he said to a brave fellow, who bore the scars of many a wound, "allons, camarade, cris donc *vive la roi.*" "No, monsieur," replied the brave dragoon—"no true soldier will contend with his own father. I cannot answer you but in crying *long live the Emperor.*" The Comte d'Artois quitted Lyons in his carriage, accompanied by a single gen d'arme.

At nine o'clock in the evening, the Emperor crossed La Guillotiere almost alone—he was immediately surrounded by an immense number. At eleven, the next morning he reviewed the whole division of

troops at Lyons, and the brave General Brayer at their head immediately took up the line of march towards the capital.

The Emperor was sensibly affected by the many affectionate testimonials which he received from the inhabitants of this great city, during the two days he remained. He could not express his feelings, but exclaimed "People of Lyons I love you." This is the second time that the acclamations of this city have been the presage of new destinies reserved for France.

On the 13th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor arrived at Villefranche, a small town of 4000 inhabitants, which at that time contained more than 60,000. He put up at the hotel of the town. A great number of wounded officers were presented to him.

On the 13th, at seven in the evening, he entered Macon, accompanied by the inhabitants of all the neighbouring countries. He expressed to the people his astonishment at the feeble efforts they had made in the last campaign to resist the enemy and support the honour of their state. They replied "sire, why do you blame us for the crimes of a traitor." [Alluding to their mayor.]

At Tournes the Emperor passed the highest eulogiums on the inhabitants for their good conduct and for their patriotism, which under the same circumstances, have distinguished Tournes, Chalons and St. Jean de Loue. At Chalons, which for forty days resisted the efforts of the enemy and defended the

passage of the Saone, the Emperor employed himself in acknowledging every act of bravery. He was unable to go in person to St. Jean de Loue, but he sent the decoration of the legion of honour to the mayor of the city, remarking "it was for you brave people that I instituted the legion of honour, and not for the pensioned emissaries of our enemies."

The Emperor received at Chalons a deputation from the city of Dijon, whose inhabitants had just expelled their prefect and their mayor, whose conduct during the last campaign had dishonoured both Dijon and its people—the Emperor deposed the mayor and appointed another, and confided the command of the division on the brave General Devaux.

Upon the route from Autun to Avallon the Emperor experienced the same affectionate notice as among the mountains of Dauphiny. He re-appointed all the authorities who had been deposed for their efforts in defending their country against a foreign yoke. The Emperor breakfasted at Vermanton on the 17th, and arrived at Auxerre, where the prefect, Gamot, had remained faithful to his duty. The gallant fourteenth regiment had trod under their feet the white cockade. The Emperor learned also that the sixth regiment of lancers had mounted the tri-coloured cockade and had gone to Montereau to defend the bridge, which a detachment of the body-guards had endeavoured to destroy. The young body-guards, unaccustomed to the weapons of the lancers, took to flight, and two of them were made prisoners. At Auxerre, Major-General Bertrand gave orders that all the boats

should be brought up, to embark the army, (now reinforced by four divisions) and to carry it that evening to Fossard, so as to arrive at one the next morning at Fontainebleau.

Before he left Auxerre the Emperor was joined by the Prince of Moskwa, who had mounted the tricoloured cockade. The Emperor arrived at Fontainebleau the 20th, at four o'clock, A. M.—At seven, he learned that the Bourbons had left Paris, and the capital was free. He departed immediately, and entered the Thuilleries at eight o'clock, P. M. at a moment when he was least expected.

Thus terminates, without one obstacle to oppose it, without shedding one drop of blood, an enterprise which has re-established the nation in its rights, in its glory, and which has wiped off the foul stain which had been stamped by treason and the presence of a foreigner. Thus is verified this passage in the address of the Emperor to the troops: "That the eagle with the national colours would fly from steeple to steeple, even to the turrets of Notre Dame." In eighteen days, the brave battalion of the guard has passed the distance between the gulf of Juan and Paris, a distance which on ordinary occasions would occupy forty-five days to accomplish.

Arrived at the gates of Paris, the Emperor was met by the whole of the army commanded by the Duke of Berry—officers, soldiers, generals—the light infantry, the infantry of the line, lancers, dragoons, cuirassiers, artillery, all came to present themselves before their general, whom the choice of the people

and the vows of the army, had elevated to the imperial throne—the tri-coloured cockade was taken from their knapsacks and placed in the hat of every soldier. They trod in the dust the white cockade, which for twenty-five years had been the rallying signal to the enemies of France and her people.

On the 21st, at one o'clock, noon, the Emperor reviewed the troops which composed the army of Paris. The whole capital is a witness of the effusions of enthusiasm and attachment, which burst from these gallant soldiers. They had all reconquered their country! They had all been emancipated from oppression! They had all found in the national colours the remembrance of those generous sentiments which have all distinguished the French nation. After the Emperor had passed through the ranks, the troops were formed into hollow-squares by battalions.

“Soldiers, (said the Emperor,) with 600 men I have entered France, because I relied upon the love of my people, and upon the affectionate remembrance of my old soldiers—I have not been deceived in my expectations—Soldiers! I thank you for it: Let the glory of what has been done be ascribed to the people and to you—*Mine* is complete in having known you and appreciated your merits.

“Soldiers! the throne of the Bourbons was an illegitimate throne—inasmuch as it elevated by foreign influence—inasmuch as it had been proscribed by the vow of a whole nation, expressed by all our national assemblies—in short, because it afforded no

security whatever, except indeed, to the interests of a small number of arrogant men, whose haughty pretensions are directly opposed to our rights. Soldiers! the imperial throne can alone secure the rights of the people, and above all our chief interests—our glory. Soldiers! we are about to march, and drive from our territories those foreign allies—The nation will not only follow us with its vows, but even themselves obey the impulse—The French people and your Emperor calculate upon *you*—We do not wish to interfere with the affairs of foreign nations—but we to them that interfere with ours.”

This speech was received with a general acclamation. Shortly after General Cambronne and the officers of the guards of the battalion from the island of Elba appeared, decorated with the eagle, the ancient badge of distinction. The Emperor resumed his address.

“Behold the officers of the battalion who have accompanied me in my misfortunes. They are all my friends. They are very dear to me. Every time I saw them they reminded me of the different regiments of the army; for among these 600 brave fellows there are men from every regiment. They all reminded me of those great and glorious days, of which the recollection is so soothing; for all of them are covered with wounds received in those memorable battles. In loving them it was you soldiers whom I loved! They have brought back to you these eagles. May they always be the rallying point. In presenting them to the guard, I give them to the whole

army. Treachery and some unfortunate events have sullied their lustre! But, thanks to the French people and to you, they shine resplendent with all their former glory. Swear that they shall be found wherever the interests of their country demands them. That traitors and those who invade our land shall never be able to look upon them."

"We swear it!"—cried they with the greatest enthusiasm—The troops afterwards marched off to the sound of music which played the popular air of "Veillons au salut de l'Empire."

No. II.

Proclamation to the French people.

Bay of Juan, March 1, 1815.

"Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c."

"Frenchmen!—The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies; the army of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris.

“ The victories of Champ Auburt, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier ; the raising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comte, and of Bourgoin ; and the position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy’s army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys, and all its equipage ; had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy’s army was lost without resource : it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa gave up the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of those two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its park of reserve.

“ Under these new and important circumstances, my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be, still useful to you. I did not permit the great number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot. I thought their

presence useful to France ; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

“ Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under these new circumstances. A prince who should reign over you, who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law : he would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for twenty-five years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

“ Frenchmen ! In my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes ; you demanded that government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber ; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

“ I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind : I arrive among you to resume my rights, which are yours. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of : it shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. There are

circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization.

“ Frenchmen ! There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, and which may not withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying, a prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from a Prince Regent of England.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

“ By the Emperor,

“ *The Grand-Marshal performing the functions of
Major-General of the Grand Army.*

(Signed)

COUNT BERTRAND.”

No. III.

Proclamation of the Emperor to the Army.

“ Gulph of Joan, March 1, 1815.

“ Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

“ Soldiers !—We were not conquered : two men raised from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

“ Those whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us ; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France ; shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look ? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods—that they should calumniate our glory ? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature ! They seek to poison what the world admires ; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

“ Soldiers ! in my exile I heard your voice : I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils ; your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you : come and join him.

“ Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for twenty-five years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France : mount the cockade tri-colour : you bore it in the days of our greatness.

“ We must forget that we have been masters of nations ; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

“ Who shall presume to be master over us ? Who would have the power ? Recover those eagles which

you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jenna, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there if they please they shall reign as they pretend to have reigned during nineteen years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory, the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children, have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us; they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

“The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the grand army, are all humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were crimes: those heroes were rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies.

“Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against the country and us.

“Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief; his existence is only composed of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge-step:

the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honour; then you will be able to glory in what you have done; you will be the deliverers of the country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear with respect while you recount your high deeds; you will be able to say with pride:—‘ And I, too, was part of that grand army, which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason and the presence of the enemy imprinted on it.’

“Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country; and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for twenty-five years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of the country.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

“By the Emperor.

“*The Grand-Marshal performing the functions of
Major-General of the Grand Army.*

(Signed)

BERTRAND.”

No. IV.

Gulf of Juan, 1st of March, 1815.

The generals, officers and soldiers of the imperial guard, to the generals, officers and soldiers of the army.

Fellow Soldiers—We have preserved for you your Emperor, notwithstanding the numerous snares that have been laid for him, we restore him to you, after traversing the ocean, where he was surrounded by a thousand dangers, we have arrived on the sacred soil of our country, and bring with us the national cockade and the imperial eagle; trample them, then, on the white cockade; it is the monument of your shame; the badge of the yoke which treason has imposed on you—in vain have we bled if we are to receive laws from those we have conquered.

During the few months that the Bourbons have governed they have convinced the world that they have learnt nothing, and that they have forgotten nothing. They have been, throughout, swayed by prejudices equally inimical to our rights, and to the rights of the people. Those who have borne arms against their country, and against us are the heroes of the day—you are the rebels, whose pardon they extend until such time as they shall have entrenched themselves by corps of emigrants, by the introduction of foreign guards, and by supplanting your old

officers for new ones. With them the passport to reward is to have borne arms against our country—to become an officer they require a birth conformable to their own prejudice—the soldier is always to remain a soldier—the people are to bear the burdens—they to engross the honours.

A Viomenil, who should himself have reposed on the clemency of the laws for pardon and amnesty, dares to insult the conqueror of Zurich, by naturalizing him.—Frenchmen, a Brulart, a Chouan, an assassin of Georges commands one of your legions.

Our legion of honour they have not yet dared to destroy; but they have debased it, by prostituting it to traitors; our political privileges—privileges purchased by our blood, they have totally annihilated.

The four hundred millions of *domaine extraordinaire*, on which our revenues were founded, the patrimony of the army, the pledge of its successes, they have transferred to England.

Soldiers of the great nation—Soldiers of Napoleon the great, can you remain dependent on a prince who has been, for twenty years, the enemy of France, and who boasts that he owes his throne to the Prince Regent of England? All this has been done without our consent, and without the consent of the people, without consulting either of us, we declare to be illegal.

Soldiers—*The General* sounds and we march—fly to your arms: rally round our standard; rejoin your Emperor and his eagles.

Signed Originally by

Baron Cambronne, General of Brigades, major of the first regiment of the foot chasseurs of the guards: Lieutenant Colonel the Chevalier Mallet, of the artillery of the guards; Cornuel, Raoul, captains: Lanoue, Demons, Lieutenants,—of the infantry of the guards: Loubert, Lamourette, Monprez, Combes, captains: Dequeux, Thibault, Chaumet, Franconnin, Mallet, lieutenants; Laborde, Emery-Moissot, Arnaud, of the light-horse of the guards: Baron Jermanouski, major; Balinski, Schultz, captains; Fintoski, and Skoronski, lieutenants.

(Signed) COUNT DROUOT,
General of Division, Aid-de-Camp to his Majesty
the Emperor, and Aid-Major General of the
Guards.

No. V.

Address of the Council of State, presented the
twenty-sixth.

Sire—The members of your council of state, at the moment of their first re-union, deemed it a part of their duty solemnly to profess the principles which govern their opinions and conduct. They come to lay before your majesty, the resolutions which they have unanimously passed; and they pray you to ac-

cept the assurance of their devoted attachment, of their gratitude, respect, and love for your sacred person.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Extract from the Journal of Resolutions.

Sitting of the 25th of March, 1815.

The council of state, upon resuming its functions, deems it a duty to make known the principles which form the rule of its opinions and conduct.

Sovereignty resides in the people; they are the only legitimate source of power.

In 1789, the nation resumed its rights—rights for a length of time forgotten, or lost by usurpation.

The national assembly abolished feudal, and established a constitutional, monarchy, and representative government.

The resistance of the Bourbons to the wishes of the people, brought about their fall, and banishment from the French territory.

Twice the people consecrated by their votes the new form of government established by their representatives.

In the year VIII. Bonaparte, already crowned by victory, was placed at the head of the government by the national assent;—a constitution created the consular magistracy.

The senatus-consultum of the sixteenth Thermidor, year X, pronounced Bonaparte consul for life.

The senatus-consultum of the twenty-eighth Floreal, year XII, conferred upon Napoleon the imperial dignity, and rendered it hereditary in his family.

These three solemn acts were submitted for their acceptance to the people, who consecrated them by nearly four millions of votes.

Thus during a period of twenty years, the Bourbons had ceased to reign in France—they were there forgotten by their contemporaries—strangers to our laws, our institutions, our manners, and our glory, the present race only knew them as connected with the remembrance of a foreign war which they kindled against their country, and the intestine disturbances with which, through their means, it was agitated.

In 1814, France was invaded by hostile armies, and the capital occupied. The stranger created a pretended provisional government: he assembled a minority of the senators, and forced them, in violation of their office, and against their wills, to destroy the existing constitutions, to overthrow the imperial throne, and to recall the family of the Bourbons.

The senate, which had been instituted expressly to preserve the constitutions of the empire, was itself conscious that it did not possess the power to change them. It decreed that the draught of the constitution which it had prepared, should be submitted to the people for acceptance, and that Louis Stanislas Xavier should be proclaimed king of the French, as soon as he should have accepted the constitution, and sworn to support it, and cause it to be supported.

The abdication of the Emperor Napoleon was but the result of the unfortunate situation to which France, and the Emperor, had been reduced by the events of the war, by treason, and by the occupation of the capital—the only object of the abdication was to

avoid civil war, and the effusion of the blood of Frenchmen.

Not consecrated by the will of the people, that act could not destroy the solemn contract formed between them and the Emperor; and though Napoleon might personally abdicate the crown, he had not power to sacrifice the rights of his son, entitled to succeed him.

A Bourbon was, nevertheless, nominated Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and seized upon the reins of government.

Louis Stanislas Xavier arrived in France—he made his entry into the capital. He took possession of the throne, to hold it according to the order established in the ancient feudal monarchy.

He had not accepted the constitution decreed by the senate—he had not sworn to support it—it was not offered to the people for their acceptance. The people, subjugated by the presence of foreign armies, could not even express freely or legally, their will.

Under their protection, after having thanked a foreign prince for enabling him to ascend the throne, Louis Stanislas Xavier, dated the first act of his authority as of the nineteenth year of his reign; thus declaring that the acts which had emanated from the will of the people, were but the results of a long continued rebellion: he granted voluntarily, and by the free exercise of his royal authority, a constitutional charter, entitled an ordinance of reformation—the only sanction it received, was his causing it to be read in the presence of a new body which he had

just created, and of an assembly of deputies who were not free, and who did not accept it—none of whom had power to consent to such a change of government, and of whom two-fifths had not even the office of representatives.

All these acts therefore are illegal, as being done in the presence of foreign armies, and under foreign influence: they are the productions of violence, and essentially void, and derogatory to the honour, the liberty, and the rights of the people.

The adherence of individuals, and of functionaries without legal authority, to this order of things, could not annihilate or furnish a substitute for the consent of the people expressed by votes solemnly called for, and legally given.

If such adherences, and the oaths by which they were accompanied, had ever been deemed binding, even by those by whom they were taken, they still would have ceased so to be, as soon as the government which received them ceased to exist.

The conduct of citizens who, under that government, served the state, cannot be blamed: they even deserve praise who took advantage only of their situations to defend the national interests, and to oppose the spirit of re-action, and counter-revolution, which desolated France.

The Bourbons themselves have unceasingly violated their own promises. They favoured the pretensions of the feudal nobility; they disturbed the titles acquired at any period, under the sales of the national demesnes; they were preparing for the re-establish-

ment of the feudal burdens, and of tithes; they threatened every new establishment; they declared war against all liberal principles; they assailed all the institutions which France had acquired at the price of her blood, preferring rather to assist in degrading the nation than to unite themselves to her glory; they despoiled the legion of honour of its endowment, and of its political rights; and they were prodigal in conferring its decorations, with the view to render it contemptible; they deprived the brave men of the army of their pay, their rank, and their honours, to confer them upon emigrants, and insurgent officers; they desired, in a word, to reign, and oppress the people, through the emigrants.

France, deeply affected by her humiliation and misfortunes, with all her wishes, called for her national government, for the dynasty attached to her newly established interests and institutions.

When the Emperor approached the capital, the Bourbons endeavoured in vain, by hastily enacted laws, and tardy oaths to support their constitutional charter, to repair the outrages they had offered to the nation and to the army. The time of illusion had passed away, and confidence in them was gone for ever. No hand was armed to defend them—the nation rushed to meet their deliverer.

The Emperor therefore, on re-ascending the throne to which the people had elevated him, did but re-establish the people in their most sacred rights. He does but restore, with a view to their execution, the decrees of the representative assemblies sanctioned

by the nation: he returns to reign through the only principle of legitimacy that France has recognized and consecrated for the last five and twenty years, and to which public functionaries were bound by oaths, from which the will of the people, alone, could absolve them.

The Emperor is called upon to guarantee a new by the proper institutions, (and he took upon himself the engagement so to do in his proclamations to the nation, and to the army,) all liberal principles; individual liberty, and equality of rights; the liberty of, and the abolition of the office of censor of the press; freedom of religious worship; the right of imposing taxes, and making laws, by the representatives of the nation legally elected; titles to national property acquired at any period; the independence of courts of justice, and that the places of their sessions be stationary; the responsibility of ministers and all the agents of government.

More completely to consecrate the rights and obligations of the monarch and the people, the national institutions are about to be reviewed in a general assembly of representatives, already announced by the Emperor.

Until the meeting of this general representative assembly, the Emperor is bound to exercise, and cause to be exercised, in conformity with the constitutions and existing laws, the powers which they have delegated to him, of which he could not be divested, and which he could not abdicate without the consent of the nation, and which the wishes and

general interests of the French people render it his duty to resume.

Signed, Count Defermont, Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angely, Count Boulay, Count Andreossy, Count Daru, Count Thibaudeau, Count Maret, Baron de Pommereul, Count Najac, Count Jollivet, Count Berlier, Count Miot, Count Duchatel, Count Dumas, Count Dulauloy, Count Pelet de la Lozere, Count Français, Count de Las Cazes, Baron Costaz, Baron Marchant, Count Jaubert, Count Lavalette, Count Real, Gilbert de Voisins, Baron Quinette, Count Merlin, Chevalier Jaubert, Baronne Belleville, Baron d'Alphonse, Baron Felix, Baron Merlet, Charles Maillard, Gasson, Count Delaborde, Baron Finot, Baron Janet, Baron de Preval, Baron Fain, Baron Champy, C. D. Lacuee, Baron Freville, Baron Pelet, Count de Bondy, Chevalier Bruyere.

(Signed) COUNT DEFERMONT.

Secretary General of the Council of State,

(Signed) BARON LOCRE.

His Majesty's Reply.

"Princes are the first citizens of state. Their authority is more or less extended, according to the interests of the nations which they govern. The sovereignty itself is only hereditary, because the welfare of the people requires it. Departing from this principle, I know no legitimacy. I have renounced the idea of the grand empire, of which, during fifteen years, I had but founded the basis. Henceforth, the happiness and the consolidation of the French empire, shall occupy all my thoughts."

for pp. 241-244, see after p. 248.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

245

rate and generous, even towards the persons who had devoted him to death.

16. When he spoke to General Excelmans, who was marching towards the column which closely followed Louis-Stanislas-Xavier; to Gen. Count d'Er-lon, who was to receive him at Lille; to Gen. Clausel, who went to Bordeaux, where the Duchess d'Angou-lème was; to Gen. Grouchy, who marched to stop the civil troubles excited by the Duke d'Angoulème; orders were given by the Emperor, that the persons of these individuals should be respected and sheltered from every danger and violence, during their march out of the French territory, and until they should quit it.

17. Nations and posterity will judge on what side a respect for the right of nations has been in this grand conjuncture, as well as for those due to a sovereign, and for the rules of war, principles of civilization, and maxims of laws, civil and religious. Yes! it is for them to pronounce between Napoleon and the House of Bourbon.

18. If, after having examined the pretended declaration of Congress, under this first aspect, it is discussed in its relations with the diplomatic conventions, the treaty of Fontainebleau of the 11th of April, ratified by the French government, it will be found, that its violation is not to be imputed to any others than those who reproach Napoleon with its violation.

19. The treaty of Fontainebleau has been violated by the Allied Powers and by the House of Bourbon, in

what relates to the Emperor Napoleon and his family; as well as in all that touches the interests and the rights of the French nation.

20. I. The Empress Maria Louisa and her son were to have obtained passports and an escort, to proceed to the Emperor; but, far from executing that solemn promise, the wife was violently separated from the husband, the son from the father; and this, while he laboured under those painful circumstances, in which the strongest mind has occasion to seek consolation and support in the bosom of its family, and in its domestic affections.

21. II. The safety of Napoleon, of the imperial family, and of their suite, was guaranteed* by all the Powers: yet bands of assassins were organised in France, under the eyes of the French government, and even by its orders, (as will soon be proved, by the trial of De Maubreuil,) to attack the Emperor, his brothers, and their wives: in default of the success which they hoped, from this first branch of the plot, a seditious movement was prepared at Orgon, on the route of the Emperor, to attempt his life, by means of some brigands stationed there. They sent to Corsica, as governor of that island, one of Georges' emissaries, the Sieur Broulart, elevated, expressly for the purpose, to the rank of *Maréchal de Camp*, well known in Brittany, Anjou, Normandy, La Vendee, and England, by the blood which he has shed, in order that he might prepare and render the crime sure;

* Vide Art. 14, of Treaty.

and, in fact, since his arrival at Elba, many assassins have attempted to gain the guilty and atrocious salary which was promised them by the murder of Napoleon.

22. III. The Duchies of Parma and Placentia were given, in full property, to Maria Louisa, for herself, her son, and his descendants; and, after many refusals to put them in possession, they have consummated the injustice by an absolute spoliation, under the illusory pretext of an exchange, without valuation, proportion, consent, or sovereignty; and the documents existing at the Foreign office, which we have caused to be produced to us, prove that it is on the solicitations, and by the intrigues, of the Prince of Benevento, that Maria Louisa and her son have been stripped.

23. IV. There was to be given to the adopted son of Napoleon, the Prince Eugene, who has rendered many services to France, where he was born, and won the affection of Italy, which adopted him,—a suitable establishment out of France; and he has obtained nothing.

24. V. The Emperor had stipulated (see 9th article of the Treaty) in favour of the distinguished soldiers of the army, the preservation of their grants from the fund called *Monte Napoleone*; he had also reserved, on the extraordinary domains, and on other funds of the Civil list, means of recompensing his servants, of paying the soldiers who attached themselves to his destiny: all was swept away, and kept by the ministers of the Bourbons. An army-agent, Mr.

Bresson, went uselessly to Vienna to claim for them the most sacred of properties,—the price of their courage and of their blood.

25. VI. The preservation of the properties, movable and immovable, of the family of the Emperor, is stipulated by the same Treaty, (vide 6th Art.); and it has been stripped of both species of property, viz. by force of arms in France, and robbers commissioned to do so in Italy; by the violence of the military chiefs, in both countries, as well as sequestrations and seizures solemnly ordered.

26. VII. The Emperor Napoleon was to receive six millions, and his family two millions five hundred thousand francs a-year, according to the distribution established by art. 6. of the treaty. The French government constantly refused to fulfil this engagement, and Napoleon would have soon seen himself obliged to disband his faithful guard, through want of means for its payment, if he had not found, in the grateful remembrances of the bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, the honourable resource of a loan of twelve millions, which was offered to him.

27. VIII. Finally, it was not without a motive that they wished, by all means, to remove from Napoleon these companions of his glory, models of devotion and constancy, undoubted guarantees of his safety and life. The Isle of Elba was assured to him in full property, (3d art. of the treaty,) and the resolution to strip him of it desired by the Bourbons, solicited by their agents, was adopted at the Congress.

pp. 241-244 misplaced.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

241

No. VI.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

(SITTING OF SUNDAY, 2D APRIL, 1815.)

*Report of the Commission of the Presidents of the
Council of State.*

1. In consequence of the reference which has been made to it, the commission, composed of the presidents of the sections of the Council of State, has examined the Declaration of the 16th March, the Report of the Minister of General Police, and the papers which are joined to them.

2. The Declaration is in a form so mutilated, conceived in terms so strange, expresses ideas so anti-social, that the commission was inclined to regard it as one of those suppositious productions, by which contemptible men seek to change public opinion.

3. But the verification of the documents drawn up at Metz, and the examination of the couriers, have established the fact, that the above Declaration was sent by the members of the French Legation at Vienna. It should consequently be considered as adopted and signed by them.

H h

4. It is under this first point of view that the commission has believed it to be its duty to commence the examination of the Declaration, which has no example in the annals of diplomacy, and in which Frenchmen, men invested with a public character the most respectable, commence by a species of act of outlawry; or, to speak more plainly, by instigating the assassination of the Emperor Napoleon.

5. We say, with the Minister of Police, that this Declaration is the work of the French plenipotentiaries; because those of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and of England, could not have signed an act, which the sovereigns and the nations to whom they belong would be eager to disavow.

6. Besides, these plenipotentiaries, who are generally parties to the Treaty of Paris, know that Napoleon has been recognized there as retaining the title of Emperor, and as sovereign of the Isle of Elba. They would have designated him by his titles, and would not have departed, either in the substance or in the form, from the respectful deference which they impose.

7. They would have felt that, according to the law of nations, the prince the least strong by the extent or the population of his states, enjoys, as to his character political and civil, all the rights belonging to every sovereign prince, equally with the most powerful monarch; and that Napoleon, recognized under the title of Emperor, was not, any more than themselves, subject to the jurisdiction of the Congress of Vienna.

8. The oblivion of these principles, impossible to suppose in plenipotentiaries who profess the rights of nations with reflection, wisdom, and maturity, is not astonishing when it is manifested by some French ministers, to whom their conscience reproaches more than one treason, with whom fear has produced passion, and whose reason is bewildered by remorse.

9. These persons may have risked the fabrication and publishing of a paper, such as the pretended Declaration of the 13th of March, in the hope of arresting the march of Napoleon, and of deceiving the French people with regard to the sentiments of foreign powers.

10. But it is not given to them to judge of a nation which they have disowned, betrayed, and delivered to foreign armies.

11. This nation, brave and generous, revolts against all that bears the character of meanness and of oppression, its affection increases when the object of them is menaced by a crying injustice; and the assassination, to which the first phrases of the declaration of the 13th of March provoke, will find no arm to accomplish it, either amongst the twenty-five millions of French, of whom the majority has followed, guarded, and protected Napoleon, from the Mediterranean to the capital; nor amongst the eighteen millions of Italians; the six millions of Belgians or borderers of the Rhine; and the numerous populations of Germany, who, in this solemn conjuncture, have not pronounced his name without a respectful recollection; nor in the bosom of the English nation, in-

dignant at the supposition, and whose honourable sentiments disavow the language which has been dared to be put into the mouths of the sovereigns.

12. The people of Europe are enlightened: they estimated the rights of Napoleon, the rights of the allied princes, and those of the Bourbons.

13. They know that the convention of Fontainebleau is a treaty between sovereigns. Its violation, the entry of Napoleon on the French territory, could only, like every infraction of a diplomatic act, like every hostile invasion, bring on an ordinary war; of which the result could not be as to the person, but to be conqueror or conquered, free or a prisoner of war; not as to the possessions, but to preserve them or lose them, to increase them or to diminish them; and that every thought, every measure, every flagitious attack against the life of a prince at war with another, is a thing unheard of in the history of the nations and the cabinets of Europe.

14. By the violence and passion, by the oblivion of principles, which characterise the declaration of the 13th of March, are recognized the envoys of the same prince, the organs of the same councils, which also, by the ordinance of the 9th of March, outlawed Napoleon, also invoked on him the daggers of assassins, promising a salary to any person who should produce his head.

15. And yet, what has Napoleon done? he has honoured, by affording security to, the men of all nations charged with the infamous mission to which they were appointed. He has shown himself mode-

28. If Providence, in its justice, had not provided otherwise, Europe would have seen an attack made on the person and the liberty of Napoleon, to be afterwards banished at the mercy of his enemies, far from his family, and separated from his servants, either by being sent to St. Lucia, or by being sent to St. Helena, which they had assigned him as a prison.

29. When the allied powers, yielding to the imprudent wishes and cruel entreaties of the House of Bourbon, condescended to the violation of the solemn contract, on the faith of which Napoleon had disengaged the French nation from its oaths; when he himself, and all the members of his family, saw themselves menaced, attacked in their persons, properties, affections, and all their rights, stipulated in their favour as princes, in those even secured by the laws to the simple citizens, what could Napoleon do?

30. Should he, after having endured so many offences, supported so many injustices, consent to the complete violation of the engagements entered into with him, on resigning himself, personally, to the lot which they prepared for him, and abandon his wife, son, family, and faithful servants?

31. Such a resolution seems above the strength of human will: yet Napoleon might have taken it, if the peace and happiness of France would have been the price of this new sacrifice. He would have devoted himself again for the French people; from whom, as he wishes to declare to all Europe, he boasts of holding every thing; to whom he wishes to refer every

thing; to whom alone he wishes to answer for his actions, and to devote his life.

32. It was for France alone, and to spare it the misfortunes of an intestine war, that he abdicated the crown in 1814. He restored to the French people the rights which he held from them; he left them free to choose a new monarch, and to found their liberty and happiness on institutions calculated to protect both.

33. He hoped to secure to the country the preservation of all it had acquired by twenty-five years of combats and of glory, the exercise of its sovereignty in the choice of a dynasty, and the stipulation of the conditions on which it would be called to reign.

34. He expected from the new government respect for the glory of the armies, the rights of the brave, the guarantee of all the new interests, of those interests born and maintained, for a quarter of a century, resulting from all the laws, political and civil, observed and revered since that time, because they are identified with the manners, customs, and wants of the nation.

35. Far from that, every idea of the sovereignty of the people has been set aside.

36. The principle on which has reposed all the legislation, political and civil, since the revolution, has been set aside equally.

37. France has been treated by the Bourbons as a revolted country, re-conquered by the arms of its ancient masters, and enslaved anew to a feudal domination.

38. Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier has disowned the treaty which alone had rendered the throne of France vacant, and the abdication which alone permitted him to mount it.

39. He has pretended to have reigned nineteen years; thus insulting both the governments established since that time, and the people which have consecrated them by its suffrages, and the army which has defended them; and even the sovereigns, who have recognized them in their numerous treaties.

40. A charter, drawn up by the Senate, all imperfect as it was, has been put in oblivion.

41. They have imposed on France a law, pretended constitutional, as easy to elude as to revoke, and in the form of the simple ordinances, without consulting the nation; without hearing even, these corps become illegal phantoms of national representation.

42. As the Bourbons have ordained without right, and promised without guarantee, so have they eluded treaties without good faith, and executed them without fidelity.

43. The violation of a pretended charter has not been restrained, except by the timidity of the government, and the extent of the abuses of authority has not been bounded but by its feebleness.

44. The dislocation of the army, the dispersion of its officers, the exile of many, the abasement of the soldiers, the suppression of their grants, the privation of their pensions, the reduction of the compensation awarded to the legionaries, the stripping them of their honours, the pre-eminence of the decorations of the

feudal monarchy, the contemning of the citizens, designated anew under the title of *the third class*, the stripping, prepared and already commenced, of the purchasers of the national domains, the actual diminution of the value of those which persons were obliged to sell, the return of feudality in its titles, privileges, and rights, the re-establishment of the ultramontane principles, the abolition of the Gallican church, the annihilation of the Concordat, the re-establishment of the tithes, the intolerance reviving from an exclusive worship, the domination of a handful of nobles over a people accustomed to equality : This is what the Bourbons have either done, or wished to do, for France !

45. It is under such circumstances that the Emperor Napoleon has quitted the Isle of Elba: such are the motives of the determination which he has taken; and not the consideration of his personal interests, so feeble, in his estimation, compared with those of the nation to which he has consecrated his existence.

46. He has not brought war into the bosom of France ; he has, on the contrary, extinguished that which the proprietors of the national domains, forming four-fifths of the proprietors in the nation, would have been forced to make against their spoliators ; that war which the citizens, oppressed, debased, and humiliated, by the nobles, would have been obliged to sustain against their persecutors.

47. HE HAS COME TO DELIVER FRANCE, AND HE HAS BEEN RECEIVED AS ITS LIBERATOR !

48. He has arrived almost alone ; he has travelled 220 leagues without obstacles or combats ; he has resumed the throne forsaken by the Bourbons without resistance, in the midst of the capital, and attended by the acclamations of an immense majority of the citizens ; and all this while the discarded family have not been able to arm an individual, either in the army, their household, in the National Guards, or amongst the people, to enforce their claims.

49. And now that he is replaced at the head of the nation, which had already chosen him three times, which designates him a fourth time, by the reception it has given him on his rapid march, and triumphal entry into the capital ; of that nation by which he wishes to reign : What does Napoleon wish ?

50. That which the French people wish : the independence of France, internal peace, amity with all nations, and the execution of the treaty of Paris, concluded on the 30th of May, 1814.

51. What remains, then, to be changed in the state of Europe, and in the hopes of that repose which was promised to it ? What voice is raised to demand those succours, which, according to the Declaration, were not to be given without being demanded ?

52. There is nothing changed. If the Allied Powers return, as it is hoped they will, to just and moderate sentiments ; if they recognise that the existence of France, in a respectable and independent state, as averse from conquering as from being conquered, of dominating as from being enslaved, is necessary to

the balance of the great kingdoms as to the guarantee of the small states.

53. There is nothing changed. If, respecting the rights of a great nation, which wishes to respect the rights of all others; a people proud and generous, that have been lowered, but were never degraded; they suffer it to recall a monarch, and give themselves a constitution and laws which suit their manners and interests, habits and wants.

54. There is nothing changed. If the allies do not constrain France to return under the yoke of a dynasty which it can no longer wish for; the feudal chains which it has broken, to submit itself to the signorial or ecclesiastical protestations from which it has freed itself; if foreigners do not impose laws, or, meddling in its internal affairs, assign it a form of government, and give it masters, dictated by the will and interests, passions and prejudices, of its neighbours.

55. There is nothing changed; if, when France is occupied in preparing the new social pact, which shall guarantee the liberty of its citizens, the triumph of the generous ideas which dominate in Europe, and which can no longer be stifled there, it is not forced to withdraw itself, to fight for independence, from the pacific thoughts and means of internal prosperity, to which the people and their chief wish to consecrate themselves in a happy unison.

56. There is nothing changed; if, when the French nation demands no more than to remain in peace

with all Europe, an unjust coalition does not force it to defend, as it did in 1792, its will, rights, and independence: finally, the sovereign of its own choice.

(Signed)

The Minister of State, President of the Section of
Finances,

COUNT DEFERMON.

The Minister of State, President of the Section of
the Interior,

COUNT REGNAUD DE ST. JEAN D'ANGELY.

The President of the Section of Legislation,

COUNT BOULAY.

The President of the Section of War,

COUNT ANDREOSSY.

Certified by the Minister Secretary of State,

THE DUKE OF BASSANO.

No. VII.

*Ordinance of the King, containing Measures of
General Safety.*

LOUIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all those to whom these presents shall come; greeting.

The twelfth article of the constitutional charter charges us especially with making regulations and ordinances necessary for the safety of the state. It would be essentially compromised if we did not take prompt measures to repress the enterprize which has just been formed upon one of the points of our kingdom, and to prevent the effect of plots and attempts to excite civil war and destroy the government.

On these considerations, and on the report which has been made to us by our friend and faithful Chevalier, the Sieur Dambray, chancellor of France, commander of our orders, and by the advice of our councils, we have decreed and do decree as follows:

Article 1. Napoleon Bonaparte is declared a traitor and rebel, for having appeared with arms in his hands in the department of Var. It is enjoined to all governors, commandants of the armed force, national guards, civil authorities, and even simple citizens, to

arm against him, to arrest and carry him before a council of war, which, after having recognized his identity, shall apply to him the penalties pronounced by the law.

2. The military men, and other public functionaries, of every rank, who may have followed the said Bonaparte in his invasion of the French territory, will be punished with the same pains, and considered as guilty of the same crimes, unless that, on a delay of eight days from the publication of this ordinance, they make their submission to our governors, commanders of military divisions, generals, or civil administrations.

3. All civil administrators, chiefs, and persons employed in the said administrations, paymasters and receivers of the public taxes, the private citizens even, who shall lend, directly or indirectly, assistance to Bonaparte, will be in like manner pursued and punished, as favourers and accomplices of rebellion and crime, tending to change the form of the government, and to provoke civil war.

4. Those who, by discourses held in public places or meetings, by bills posted up, or by printed writings, shall have taken a share, or engaged the citizens to take any part in the revolt, or abstain from repulsing it, will be punished with the same pains, conformably to the 102d article of the Penal Code.

5. Our chancellor, ministers-secretaries of state, and our director-general of police, each in what concerns him, are charged with the execution of the present Ordinance, which will be inserted in the bul-

letin of laws, addressed to all the governors of military divisions, generals, commandants, prefects and sub-prefects, and mayors of our kingdom, with an order to cause it to be printed and posted up, as well at Paris as elsewhere, and wherever it may be judged necessary.

Given at the Castle of the Thuilleries, the 6th of March, 1815, and of our reign the twentieth.

(Signed) LOUIS.

By the King,

The Chancellor of France,

(Signed) D'AMBRAY.

No. VIII.

From the Moniteur of April 12, 1815.

“ M. COUNT GROUCHY,

“ The ordinance of the king on the 6th of March, and the declaration signed at Vienna on the 13th by his ministers, would have authorised me in treating the Duke d'Angouleme as the ordinance, and this declaration, would have treated both myself and my family. But true in the dispositions which had

induced me to order that the members of the Bourbon family should have free egress from France, my intention is, that you will give orders that the Duke d'Angouleme be conducted to Cette, where he shall be embarked, and that you will watch his safety and protect him from any ill treatment.

“ You will only take care to secure the funds which have been carried away from the public chests, and to demand that the Duke d'Angouleme shall be obliged to restore the crown jewels, which are the property of the nation. You will at the same time make known to him, the terms of the laws of the national assembly, which have been renewed, and that they apply to the members of the Bourbon family who shall enter the French territory.

“ You will thank, in my name, the national guards, for the patriotism and zeal which they have displayed, and for the attachment they have shewn to me under these important circumstances.

“ At the Palace of the Thuilleries, April 11, 1815.

(Signed)

“ NAPOLEON.”

No. IX.

Address of the Field of May.

SIRE,

The French people had decreed you the crown; you had deposed it without their consent: their suffrages now impose on you the duty of resuming it. A new compact is formed between the nation and your Majesty. Assembled from all points of the empire around the tables of the law, on which we have just inscribed the wish of the people, that wish the sole legitimate source of power, it is impossible for us not to make the voice of France re-echo, that of which we are the immediate organs; not to say, in the presence of Europe, to the august chief of the nation, what it expects from him, what he should expect from it. Our words will be as solemn as the circumstances which inspire them.

What does the league of allied kings mean by that display of war, with which it affrights Europe and afflicts humanity?

By what act, or violation have we provoked their vengeance, or given a motive for their aggression?

Have we, since the peace, endeavoured to give them laws? Our only wish is, to make those be followed which are adapted to our manners.

We do not wish for the chief whom our enemies would impose on us; and we want him whom they reject.

They dare proscribe you personally; you, sire, who, so many times master of their capitals, have generously confirmed them on their shattered thrones! This hate of our enemies adds to our love for you. Were the least known of our citizens proscribed, we should defend him with the same energy: he would be, like you, under the ægis of the law and the power of France, defended from the attacks of foreigners.

They menace us with an invasion! And, in the mean time, confined us within frontiers which nature has not imposed; which a long time since, and even before your reign, victory and peace had extended: we have not passed that narrow circuit, though respect for the treaties which you have not signed, and which you have offered to respect.

Do they not fear to recal to us other times, and a state of things lately so different, one which might again be re-produced? Do they only demand guarantees? They are to be found in all our institutions, in the will of the French people, henceforth united to your wishes.

It would not be for the first time that we had conquered all Europe, armed against us.

Those sacred, and imprescriptible rights, which the smallest population has never claimed in vain at the tribunal of justice and of history, it is to the French nation that men dare to dispute them in the

nineteenth century, and in the face of the civilized world!

Because France, wishes to be France, must it be degraded; or, at least, rent, dismembered! Do they reserve for us the lot of Poland?

Vainly do they wish to conceal fatal designs, in the single view of separating you from us, to give us masters, with whom we have no longer any thing in common, whom we understand not, and who can no longer understand us; who do not seem to belong to the age, nor to the nation, which has not received them for a moment into its bosom, but to see its most generous citizens proscribed and degraded by them!

Their presence has destroyed all the illusions which were still attached to their name.

They could no longer believe in our oaths, we could no longer believe in their promises. The tithes, feudal privileges, all that is odious to us, was too evidently the end and substance of their thoughts, when one of them, to console the impatience of the moment, assured his confidential friends, that he answered to them for the future.

What each of us had regarded, during twenty-five years, as a title of glory, as services worthy of recompense, has been with them a title of proscription, a seal of reprobation.

Thousands of functionaries, magistrates, who had for five-and-twenty years followed the same maxims, and amongst whom we have just chosen our representatives; five hundred thousand warriors, our force

and our glory; six millions of proprietors, invested by the Revolution; a still greater number of enlightened citizens, who make a profession of these arguments, which have become political dogmas for us. All these worthy Frenchmen were not the Frenchmen of the Bourbons; they wished to reign for a handful of privileged persons, punished or pardoned during the last twenty years.

Opinion, that sacred property of man, they pursued, persecuted, even to the very sanctuary of literature and of the arts.

Sire: A throne, founded by foreign arms, and environed by incurable errors, has given way in an instant before you; because you brought back from retirement, which is fertile in great thoughts to great men only, all the traces of our glory, and all the hopes of our prosperity.

How much has not your triumphal march from Cannes to Paris opened the eyes of all men? In the history of all populations, and of all ages, is there a scene more national, more heroic, more capable of inspiring respect? This triumph, which has cost no blood, is it not sufficient to undeceive our enemies? Do they wish for others more bloody? Well, sire, expect from us all that a hero, the founder of our institutions, has a right to expect from a faithful, energetic, generous nation, unshakeable in its principles, invariable in the object of its efforts,—external independence and internal liberty.

The three branches of the legislature are about to act; one only sentiment will animate them. Con-

fidings in the promises of your Majesty, we give up to you, to our representatives, and to the Chamber of Peers, the care of revising, consolidating, of perfecting in concert, without precipitation or concussion, with maturity and wisdom, our constitutional system, and the institutions by which it should be guaranteed.

If we are, in the mean time, forced to combat, let a single cry resound in every heart: "Let us march to the enemy, which wishes to treat us as the meanest of nations! Let us throng round the throne, on which is seated the father, the chief of the people and of the army."

Sire: nothing is impossible, nothing will be spared to secure honour and independence,—properties more dear than life. Every thing will be attempted, every thing will be executed, to repel an ignominious yoke; we declare it to the nations: May their chiefs hear us! If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will await, from your strong, liberal, and paternal administration, motives to console them for the sacrifices which peace has cost them. But, if they leave us only the choice between war and shame, the whole nation rises for war; it is ready to disengage you from the offers, too moderate, perhaps, which you have made, to spare Europe a new convulsion. Every Frenchman is a soldier: victory will follow your arms, and our enemies, who calculated on our divisions, will very soon regret that they have provoked us.

No. X.

*Speech delivered by his Majesty at the Champ de Mai.**

Gentlemen, electors of colleges, of departments and arrondissements!

Gentlemen, deputies from the army and navy to the *Champ de Mai*!—

Emperor, consul, soldier! I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the rule and constant object of my thoughts and actions. Like the king of Athens, I have sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of witnessing the realization of the promise given to guarantee to France her national integrity, her honours, and her rights.

Indignant on beholding those sacred rights, acquired by twenty-five years of victory, slighted and lost for ever; the cry of insulted French honour, and the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to that throne which is dear to me, because it is the *palladium* of the independence, of the honour, and

* Moniteur, June 2d, 1815.

the rights of the people. Frenchmen! in my progress amidst the public joy, through the different provinces of the empire to my capital, I had every reason to reckon upon a long peace. Nations are bound by the treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be. My thoughts were then wholly engaged with the means of founding our liberty on a constitution conformable to the wishes and the interests of the people. I convoked the *Champ de Mai*.

I was soon apprised that the princes who have violated all principles, who have shocked the public opinion, and the dearest interests of so many nations, design to make war upon us. They meditate the increase of the kingdom of the Netherlands; they would give it for barriers all our northern frontier fortresses, and would make up the quarrels which still divide them, by sharing among themselves Lorraine and Alsace. It was necessary to prepare for war.

However, before personally exposing myself to the risks of battles, my first care was to give without delay a constitution to the nation. The people has accepted the act which I presented to it. Frenchmen! when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and the independence of twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen, a solemn law, enacted according to the forms prescribed by the constitutional act, shall combine the different provisions of our constitutions that are now scattered.

Frenchmen! you are about to return into your departments. Tell the citizens that circumstances are arduous!—that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall come off victorious from this struggle of a great people against its oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; and that a nation has lost all, when it has lost its independence. Tell them that the foreign kings whom I either raised to the throne, or who are indebted to me for the preservation of their crowns; who all, in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance, and the protection of the French people; are now aiming their blows at my person. If I had not seen that it is against the country that they are really directed, I would place at their mercy this life, against which they manifest such animosity. But tell the citizens also, that while the French shall retain for me the sentiments of love of which they give me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be impotent.

Frenchmen! my will is that of the people; my rights are their rights; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can never be distinct from the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France.

No. XI.

*Speech delivered by his Majesty at the Imperial
Session of the 8th of June.*

Messieurs of the Chamber of Peers, and Messieurs
of the Chamber of Representatives.

For three months past, circumstances, and the confidence of the people; have invested me with unlimited power. At this moment the most anxious wish of my heart is accomplished. I have commenced a constitutional monarchy. Men are too feeble to secure the future; legal institutions alone fix the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary to France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people. Our constitutions are scattered; one of our most important occupations will be to consolidate them into one body, and arrange them in one simple system. This labour will recommend the present epoch to the gratitude of future generations. I am anxious that France should enjoy all possible liberty; I say possible, because anarchy always resolves itself into absolute government.

A formidable coalition of kings threatens our independence; their armies are approaching our frontiers. The *Melpomene* frigate has been attacked and taken in the Mediterranean, after a sanguinary action with an English vessel of seventy-four guns. Blood has

been shed in the time of peace. Our enemies rely upon our internal divisions. They excite and foment civil war. Risings have taken place. Communications are held with Ghent, as with Coblenz in 1792. Legislative measures are indispensable. I place unreserved confidence in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person.

The liberty of the press is inherent in the existing constitution. No change can be made in that respect without altering the whole of our political system; but some restrictions are necessary, more especially in the actual state of the nation. I recommend this important subject to your serious consideration.

My ministers will acquaint you with the situation of our affairs. The finances would be in a satisfactory state but for the increased expenditure rendered requisite by existing circumstances. Nevertheless, all might be met, if the receipts comprised in the budget could all be realized within the year; my minister will direct your attention to the means of arriving at this result.

It is possible that the first duty of a prince may soon call me at the head of the children of the nation to combat for the country. The army and myself will do our duty. Do you, peers and representatives! give the nation the example of confidence, energy and patriotism; and, like the senate of the great people of antiquity, resolve to die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country shall triumph!

No. XII.

Address of the Chamber of Peers, of the eleventh of June, and the Reply of his Majesty.

SIRE—Your eagerness to submit to constitutional forms and regulations the absolute power which circumstances and the confidence of the people had conferred upon you, the new guarantees afforded to the rights of the nation, and the devotedness which leads you into the midst of the dangers about to be braved by the army, fill every heart with profound gratitude. The peers of France approach to offer to your majesty the homage of that sentiment.

You have manifested, Sire, principles which are those of the nation : they ought also to be ours. Yes, all power springs from the people—is instituted for the people : constitutional monarchy is necessary to the French people, as the safeguard of their liberty and independence.

Sire, whilst you shall be on the frontier, at the head of the sons of their country, the Chamber of Peers will zealously unite in every legislative measure which circumstances may render necessary to force the enemy to recognise the national independence, and to cause those principles, consecrated by the will of the people, to triumph at home.

The interests of France are inseparable from yours. If fortune should not attend your efforts, reverses,

Sire, shall not weaken our perseverance, and will redouble our attachment to you. If success be equal to the justice, and to the hopes which we are accustomed to derive from your skill, and the valour of our armies, France desires no other result than peace. Our institutions secure to Europe the certainty that the French government cannot be misled by the seductions of victory.

His Majesty replied:

Mr. President, and Gentlemen, deputies of the Chamber of Peers,

The struggle in which we are engaged is awful. The delusion of prosperity is not the danger which threatens us to-day. Foreigners wish to compel us to pass under the Caudine Forks.

The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the nation, and the valour of the army, are powerful to induce the hope of success ; but if we encounter a reverse of fortune, then, most especially, I shall delight in beholding displayed all the energy of this great people : then I shall seek in the Chamber of Peers, the proofs of attachment to their country and to me.

It is in disastrous times that great nations, like great men, put forth all their energy of character, and become objects of admiration to posterity.

Mr. President, and gentlemen, deputies of the chamber of peers, I thank you for the sentiments that you have expressed to me in the name of the chamber.

No. XIII.

Address of the Representatives, and Reply of his Majesty.

SIRE—The chamber of representatives has dwelt, with the deepest feeling, upon the expressions which emanated from the throne in the course of the solemn session, when your majesty, laying down the extraordinary power which you exercised, announced the commencement of constitutional monarchy.

The great principles of this monarchy, the protectress of liberty, of equality, and the happiness of the people, have been recognized by your majesty, who, quieting all scruples, and exceeding all wishes, has declared that the business of uniting and strengthening our unsettled constitution was one of the most important occupations reserved for the legislature.

Faithful to their duty, the chamber of representatives will fulfil the task devolved upon them in this noble work; and desires, in order to satisfy the public will, as well as the wish of your majesty, that the national deliberations may correct, as speedily as possible, whatever may have been made defective, or left imperfect, in the arrangement of our constitution.

But at the same time, sire, the chamber of representatives will not shew itself less eager to proclaim its views and principles upon the subject of the dread-

ful struggle which is about to deluge Europe with blood.

After a succession of disastrous events, invaded France, seemed to be heard for a moment upon the subject of the establishment of her constitution, for the sole purpose of seeing herself subjected to a royal charter, emanating from absolute power, to an ordinance of reformation always revocable in its nature, and which, not having the expressed consent of the people, could not be deemed obligatory upon the nation. Resuming this day the exercise of all her rights, rallying round the hero whom her confidence again invests with the government of the state, France is astonished and grieved to find sovereigns in arms, calling upon her for the reasons of a domestic change of affairs, the result of the national will, and which does not interfere with the relations existing between her and other governments, nor with their security.

France can admit none of the distinctions by the aid of which the coalesced powers endeavour to veil their aggression. To assail the monarch of her choice is to attack the nation. She is armed at all points to defend that independence, and to reject every family, and every prince, which they may dare to wish to impose upon her.

Not an ambitious desire mingles with the views of the French people: the will even of her victorious prince would be powerless, if exerted to move the nation beyond the limits of self defence. But, at the same time, to keep inviolate her territory, to maintain

her liberty, her honour, and her dignity, she is prepared to make every sacrifice.

Why are we not permitted, sire, to hope that all these preparations for war, the result, perhaps, of irritated pride, and of illusions that must become weaker every day, may disappear, and give place to peace, now necessary to every nation in Europe, which would restore to your majesty a consort, to the French people the heir of the throne. But blood has already flowed, and the signal for battles to be fought against the independence and liberty of Frenchmen has been displayed, in the name of a people carrying to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of independence and liberty!

Doubtless among the communications which we are about to receive from your majesty, the chambers will find the proof of efforts made to maintain the peace of the world. If all those efforts must be unavailing, may the horrors of war recoil on those who have produced their existence.

The chamber of deputies waits only for the documents which have been announced to it, to concur zealously in the measures required for the success of so legitimate a war. It delays the expression of its vote, to be made acquainted with the wants and resources of the state; and whilst your majesty, opposing to the most lawless aggression the valour of the national armies, and the powers of your genius, will seek in victory but the means of procuring a lasting peace, the chamber of representatives will endeavour to assist in attaining the same object, by labouring

unceasingly to complete the compact, the conclusion of which must again cement the union of the people and the throne, and strengthen, in the estimation of Europe, by the amelioration of our institutions, the security of our engagements.

His Majesty replied:

Mr. President, and Gentlemen, Deputies of the Chamber of Representatives,

I recognize with satisfaction my own sentiments in those you have just expressed. In the midst of these important matters, my thoughts are absorbed in the impending war, to the success of which is allied the independence and honour of France.

I shall set out this night to put myself at the head of my armies; the movements of the different corps of the enemy render my presence indispensable. During my absence, I should learn with pleasure that a committee, appointed by each chamber, was deliberating upon our constitutions.

The constitution is our rallying point; it ought to be our polar star in these tempestuous moments. Every public discussion which should tend, directly or indirectly, to diminish the confidence we ought to feel in its provisions, would prove unfortunate to the state; we should find ourselves in the midst of breakers, without compass or chart. The crisis in which we find ourselves is awful. Let us not imitate the example of the Lower Empire, which, pressed on all sides by the barbarians, was rendered the laughing stock of posterity, by being engaged in abstract dis-

cussions at the moment when the battering ram was demolishing the gates of the city.

In addition to the legislative measures which the circumstances of the country call for, you will, perhaps, deem it useful to employ yourselves upon the subject of organic laws, with a view to carry into effect the constitution.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen, Deputies of the Chamber of Representatives, the sentiments expressed in your address sufficiently demonstrate to me the attachment of the chamber to my person, and the patriotism with which it is animated. In every event my conduct shall be upright and firm. Assist me to save our country. The first representative of the people, I have laid myself under an obligation, which I renew, to employ, at a more tranquil season, all the prerogatives of the crown, and the small experience I have acquired, to aid you in the amelioration of our institutions.

OFFICIAL PAPERS,

REFERRED TO IN

CHAPTER THIRD.

Exposition of the events which took place in the South of France, from the 24th of March, 1815, until the 17th of April of the same year.

No. I.

ORDERS had been given, in all the departments of the south, for the formation of corps of national guards and volunteers:—many individuals, in the employ of government, made use of their influence to retard or prevent the formation of those different corps.

All those persons could not be immediately deprived of their various offices and situations—it was necessary to be satisfied with the good will of those who were not deterred by difficulties in the service of the king. All, by repeated letters, assured Monseigneur the Duke d'Angoulême of their entire devotion.

The Lieutenant-generals Ambert, at Montpellier, Daricaud, at Perpignan, Rey, in the department of La Haute Loire, Saint-Paul, in that of La Lozère, Cassagne, in that of La Haute Garonne; the Major-generals Lafitte, in that of Ardeche, Aymard, at Montpellier, Gardanne, in that of Levar, were those who renewed more repeatedly their protestations. The Lieutenant-generals Ambert and Cassagne had been particularly honoured by the bounties of his royal highness.

The Sieur Descorches, prefect of La Drôme, obeyed the orders of Bonaparte, and communicated every circumstance to Monseigneur the Duke d'Angoulême, and assured him that he only retained his situation, in order more effectually to serve the king.

The colonel-general's regiment of infantry was the only one that could be relied upon. It received orders to march to Nismes. The fourteenth regiment of horse chasseurs, of whom service was expected, also marched there.

Sisteron, Saint-Esprit and Clermont were designated as the places of rendezvous for the national guards.

The king had appointed Monseigneur the Duke d'Angoulême lieutenant-general of the kingdom in the south. Monseigneur the Duke of Bourbon was appointed governor of the provinces of the west. His royal highness only received notice of his appointment on the 24th.

Lyonnais and Dauphiny had mounted the tricoloured cockade. All communication with the north was cut off.

A provisional government was established at Toulouse.

Lieutenant-general Ernouf was appointed commandant of the first corps d'armée of the south. His royal highness was to command the second in person; and Lieutenant-general Compans was about to set out to take the command in chief of the third corps at Clermont.

The first corps was to deploy from Sisteron, and march upon Gap and Grenoble; the second upon Saint Esprit, upon Montelimart, and Valence: both corps were to pass the Drome, and to move rapidly upon Lyons.

Lieutenant-general Count Compans was to maintain his position at Auvergne, facilitate the movement upon Lyons, and keep open the communication with Monseigneur the Duke of Bourbon.

An intermediate corps, subject to the orders of Lieutenant-general Rey, and composed of the national guards of Ardeche and of La Haute Loire, were to march upon the right bank of the Rhone, between the second and third corps.

The Generals Loverdo and Gardanne were under the command of Lieutenant-general Ernouf.

Lieutenant-generals Merle and Monnier acted with the second corps.

Lieutenant-general Solignac, and Major-general Darial were to act under the direction of Lieutenant-general Compans.

Madame was at Bordeaux.

Marshal the Prince of Essling undertook to answer for the eighth military division.

Munitions of war, of every kind, were to be furnished to the corps of the right, from Toulon and Marseilles, and to that of the centre, and to the third corps, from Montpellier: magazines were established at Saint-Fleur and at Saint-Esprit.

The generals commanding the military divisions, and those commanding departments, were charged with the prompt formation of the national guards, and with expediting them to reinforce the army.

The 24th, Monseigneur the duke d'Angoulême received intelligence of the occupation of Paris by Bonaparte. His royal highness communicated it himself to General Compans, who swore fidelity, under every circumstance, excepting only that of the embarkation of his royal highness. Monseigneur heard nothing afterwards of General Compans.

The corps d'armée commanded by Lieutenant-general Ernouf was composed of the fifty-eighth and ninety-third regiments of the line, of the national guards of Marseilles, three thousand strong, and had six pieces of cannon.

The second corps was composed of the national guards of the department of Gard, of L'Hérault, of Vaucluse, amounting in number to two thousand men, of the tenth regiment of the line, nine hundred strong, of the first royal foreign regiment, three hundred and fifty strong, mounted national guards to the number of seventy, the fourteenth regiment of horse chasseurs, three hundred strong: it had twelve pieces

of cannon, of which two were served by the national guards.

The tenth regiment of the line, the fourteenth chasseurs, and the main body of the troops could not reach Saint-Esprit before the 31st, his royal highness arrived there on the 28th.

Orders were despatched to General Ernouf to advance.

General Chabert, with three or four hundred men, was the only force opposed to his progress.

The 29th, the advanced guard of the second corps, commanded by the Viscount d'Escars, occupied Montelimart. The corps commanded by Lieutenant General Monier took a position at Douzere.

The 30th, General Debelle, having advanced from Valence, attacked the advanced guard of the second corps; he was repulsed, but of fifty chasseurs of the fourteenth regiment, who were with the advanced guard, forty-nine went over to the enemy with their officers.

It became necessary to leave the fourteenth regiment of chasseurs in the rear.

The 31st, intelligence was received that General Rey in the department of la Haute-Loire, Saint-Paul in that of la Lozere, and Lafitte in that of Ardeche, after having disbanded the national guards of those departments, had mounted the tri-coloured cockade. The first named of these, had also dismissed the national guards who were moving upon Clermont.

It became necessary to provide for the safety of

Saint-Esprit: a battalion of the royal foreign regiment, two battalions from Gard, and six pieces of cannon, were placed under the orders of Lieutenant General Merle: exertions were made to render the citadel safe from a coup-de-main.

It became essential to observe the right bank of the Rhone: Colonel Magnier, with one of the battalions left at the disposition of Lieutenant General Merle, was ordered to follow, upon the right bank, the line of march of the corps, commanded by his Royal Highness on the left bank of the river.

On the 1st of April, the main body of his Royal Highness' corps, and all his disposable force, advanced to Montelimart.

Intelligence was received, that, in consequence of the orders which had been given, Lieutenant General Ernouf was at Gap, and that the Generals Gardanne and Loverdo, commanding his advanced guard, had occupied the important defiles of Travers-de-Corps and la Mure.

On the 2d, the corps commanded by his Royal Highness moved upon Valence.

A battalion, under the command of Major d'Hautpoul, secured the right, by marching upon Crest.

The enemy, being pursued, retreated across the Drôme; and, having possession of the bridge, took a position on the heights along the right bank of that river.

A new engagement took place; but whilst a battalion of the national guards were fording the Drôme,

below the bridge, a company of voltigeurs of the tenth regiment, and some national guards, supported by two companies of grenadiers, rushed upon the bridge and carried it, and a piece of cannon intended for its defence.

The village and the height of Liveron did not hold out long. Another piece of cannon was taken by twenty-five chasseurs, of the fourteenth regiment, who formed the escort of his Royal Highness. Colonel Noel, commanding the enemy's corps, Major Chataigner, almost all the officers, and three hundred men, were made prisoners, and the rest of the corps dispersed.

The gazettes of Bonaparte have stated that the company of voltigeurs, of the tenth regiment, rushed upon the bridge, crying, "vive l'Empereur;" that then, a passage being opened to them, they took possession of the bridge without firing a shot. Just the contrary was the fact—the troops posted on the right bank of the Drome cried "Vive le Roi;" the voltigeurs, having advanced, were surrounded. In vain they endeavoured to force them to cry "Vive l'Empereur:" they were attacked; many were wounded; two companies of grenadiers, detached to their support, rescued them; all the prisoners cried "Vive le Roi." The enemy's force, before the action, consisted of twelve or fifteen hundred men, and the position they occupied was as difficult to attack as it was easy to defend.

At Crest Major d'Hautpoul had also fallen in with the enemy. During the night the bridge was abandoned.

The corps commanded by his royal highness halted at the village of Paillasse, one league distant from Valence.

The 3d of April his royal highness entered Valence; the Roman's bridge, and all the left bank of the Isère, were taken possession of, notwithstanding all the efforts of the troops who were stationed there.

The fourteenth regiment of chasseurs received orders to rejoin the army.

On the 4th Colonel Magnier took possession of Saint Prai, on the right bank of the Rhone.

Intelligence was received that General Gardanne, who commanded the advanced guard of the first corps, had gone over to the enemy, with the fifty-eighth regiment, which was subject to his orders; and that, in consequence of that circumstance, General Loverdo had fallen back upon General Ernouf, who was retreating upon Sisteron.

Offensive operations now became impossible; it would have been difficult to have maintained the position at Valence, even if intelligence had been received that General Ernouf, sure of the fidelity of the ninety-third regiment, and of the national guards, had resumed the offensive.

The fifth, intelligence was received that Lieutenant-General Ambart had induced Montpellier, and all his division, to recognize the government of Bonaparte. In vain Lieutenant-General Briche and Major-General Pelissier, at Nismes, opposed his proceeding: overpowered by the troops, they were themselves arrested.

General Grouchy had marched from Lyons with two thousand five hundred troops of the line, and was advancing by forced marches upon Valence:—other troops were on their route to support him.

General Ernouf could not operate beyond Grenoble, and the nature of the country did not permit him to open a very direct communication with that place.

During the morning of the 6th, a letter from General Merle informed his royal highness that forces of the enemy had marched from Montpelier to attack Saint-Esprit, which place General Merle did not feel a disposition to defend.

The enemy made a pretty vigorous demonstration to force a passage across the Isère, without success.

Means of corruption, prepared at a distance, were employed at Valence, to seduce and terrify the royal troops, and desertions were frequent.

Orders were given for retreat on the 7th. His royal highness moved his head quarters to Montelimart; and Colonel Magnier, acting on the right, made a corresponding movement.

The same day the colonel of the fourteenth regiment of chasseurs gave notice that he was no longer able to answer for his regiment. It became necessary to order it back to Livron.

On the 8th, in the morning, the colonel of the tenth regiment of the line stated that the major part of his soldiers had refused any longer to fight—all the officers were in utter despair—they obtained a promise from his royal highness to permit them to

escort him to Marseilles: some soldiers, however, swore they would not serve Bonaparte.

The artillery also refused longer to serve the king.

The royal foreign regiment, and seven or eight hundred men of the national guards, of course, alone remained faithful to his royal highness, when he received intelligence that Toulon and Avignon had hoisted the standard of revolt.

It was also known that Monseigneur the Duke of Bourbon had quitted France, and that Madame had embarked at Pouillac.

Lieutenant-general Merle had abandoned Saint-Espirit.

The regiment of Berry, light infantry, had moved towards the route from Avignon to Saint-Espirit, in order to oppose the passage of his royal highness.

The strength of the royal foreign regiment was now much reduced; the detachment, however, moved towards Pallud.

Lieutenant-general d'Aultanne, chief of the staff, set off to Saint Esprit, with powers to negotiate a safe passage to Marseilles for his royal highness.

The arrangement was made with Colonel Saint Laurens, that his royal highness, escorted by the tenth regiment of the line, should proceed to Marseilles, in order there to embark. Lieutenant-general d'Aultanne was detained as a hostage.

One hour afterwards, a letter was received from General Gilly, by which his royal highness learned that the convention just concluded would not be ob-

served. The major-general, acting chief of the staff, was despatched to conclude another.

It was then further agreed by General Gilly and the Baron de Damas, that no troops, except those belonging to the escort, should approach the route of his royal highness.

In consequence of the above mentioned convention, a courier was despatched to General Grouchy to desire him to halt. Orders were also sent to stop the effusion of blood wherever troops still maintained their positions.

On the 9th the national guards were disbanded. The artillery joined the corps of Lieutenant-general Gilly, at Saint-Esprit, and the royal foreign regiment, and the tenth regiment of the line, alone remained as the escort of his royal highness.

Monseigneur the Duke-d'Angoulême, after having thus complied with the conditions agreed upon, got into a carriage, on the 9th, at nine o'clock in the evening, in order to proceed to Cette.

His royal highness was astonished to find that, notwithstanding the convention made between General Gilly and the Baron de Damas, outposts were stationed on the route between Pallud and Saint-Esprit.

General Grouchy, upon his arrival at Saint-Esprit, transmitted to the Baron de Damas, the following unsigned note.

"Monseigneur the Duke d'Angoulême, having capitulated with General Gilly, the general in chief, who has just arrived at Saint-Esprit, not being a party to that capitulation, is forced by his instructions not

to approve the same until he receives the orders of his majesty; until when his royal highness is requested to remain at Saint-Esprit, or to proceed, by easy stages, to Certe."

His royal highness was immediately conducted to the house appropriated for him: a strong guard was placed over him, and it was only by pledging his word of honour not to escape, that he obtained the favour of having no officers of the gendarmerie in his chamber.

On the 11th it was understood that Colonel Magnier either had not received notice of, or had not acceded to, the convention. The Baron de Damas despatched orders to him to observe the engagements entered into.

On the evening of the 12th, Lieutenant-general Corbineau, aid-de-camp of Bonaparte, sent for the Baron de Damas.

General Corbineau stated to him that he had orders to permit his royal highness to depart, upon his engaging to cause the valuable effects belonging to the crown to be restored.

His royal highness not having it in his power to engage to obtain restitution of those effects, the articles, hereunto annexed were added.

In consequence of the addition of those articles, it was determined that his royal highness should leave Saint-Esprit on the 15th.

Some faithful subjects had proposed to Monseigneur the Duke d'Angoulême to move to the mountains, and endeavour to reach Piedmont. But then,

either his royal highness must have set out alone, or accompanied by a few individuals upon whom he could rely: by adopting the first of these methods, his royal highness would have abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, without convention or security of any kind, the troops who had fought under his command; and, if he adopted the second, he could not be certain of completing a march of eighty-four leagues, across a difficult country, of which almost all the principal points were occupied by the enemy.

Certified to be correct.

The Lieutenant-general, acting Chief of the Staff,
(Signed) The Baron de DAMAS.

No. II.

*Relation of the Events that took place at Bordeaux,
towards the end of March, 1815.*

It is not an account of brilliant fêtes, or of happy days, that I am about to relate to you. In the midst of the transports of joy that the presence of Madame excited at Bordeaux, in the midst of the rejoicings that succeeded the 12th of March, an anniversary so dear and so glorious to the inhabitants of Bordeaux, a cry of alarm was heard, and gaiety at once disappeared. It is, however, the unbounded devotion, the unexampled zeal, of those same inhabitants of Bor-

deaux, as soon as this alarm was heard, that I love to repeat to you. Bordeaux will always be Bordeaux: such was their motto, at the approach of new dangers—and they were faithful to it. Animated with redoubled ardour by the presence of Madame, all were eager to enrol themselves for the defence of their country. Every one offered his fortune, his children, his blood, his life, and all came to Madame to renew their oaths to die for the king. The troops of the line—but at that moment they were unseduced—again tendered the oath of fidelity, and seemed to share in the feeling that animated Bordeaux in the cause of the king. Nevertheless the storm increased towards the north, and spread with inconceivable rapidity from town to town. Intelligence was at length received that the tricoloured flag was flying at Angoulême, and that General Clausel was about to move to take possession of Bordeaux. This alarming news, far from lessening the courage of the inhabitants, did but animate them the more. They were determined to encounter every thing—they feared nothing. The presense of Madame electrified all hearts: in her presence they were ready to brave all danger—they were sure of victory, if her royal highness would remain in the city: they besought her not to forsake them. The desire to see her was universal. She made her appearance that day, as was customary, about two o'clock, to take the air in an open barouche, and her firm and calm demeanour inspired a confident security. They crowded about her, as they were in the habit of doing every day, at

the same hour, when she came out of the palace, to ride in the environs of Bourdeaux—the labourers, the shop-keepers quitted their work, as if it was the first time they had seen her. With the same eagerness, that day, they ran to see her once more, to bless her again, and to pour forth a thousand wishes for her preservation. In all the villages, where she appeared, the same anxiety was observed: troops of young girls came to offer her bouquets, and, on her return, she found, as usual, the road strewn with flowers. The more dangers increased, the more their attachment for her augmented. Alive to so many marks of love, Madame was fully determined not to leave Bordeaux, and to make every exertion to defend to the last extremity, and preserve for the king, that faithful city. Their zeal and activity in the organisation of different corps, selected from the national guard, of troops were redoubled: they were equipped in haste; and upon the receipt of intelligence that General Clausel was advancing still nearer, one of those corps was sent to defend the passage of the Dordogne at Saint-André-de-Cubzac. An engagement took place, and I shall never forget the cry of joy, heard even in the palace, with which the words, “at last they are fighting,” were repeated. Our little troop had the advantage, and some of General Clausel’s men were killed by our artillery. Night suspended the engagement, which was to have recommenced next morning at day-break, when an accident, unfortunately but too much to have been apprehended for a long time past,

took place, and was the principal cause of the loss of Bordeaux.

The garrison of Blaye, a fortress so important to the safety of the city, had just revolted, the tricoloured flag was hoisted, and the troops of the line advanced from the fort to join General Clausel, and rendered his forces very superior to those which could be opposed to him. He met with no further opposition on his march, and on Saturday the first of April, he appeared with his forces, on the right bank of the Garonne, opposite to Bordeaux. Taking a position at a country house, there was nothing between the city and his troops but the river. From thence he proposed a capitulation. As Madame, according to him, was the cause of all hostile measures, he promised, if the town would surrender immediately, that the inhabitants should not be molested. No one should have any thing to fear for his safety. Every body would be left in the most perfect tranquillity; Mr. Lynch, alone, was excepted from these pacific conditions. A cry of general indignation was heard throughout the city, and they unanimously cried out: "To arms! To arms! Let us fight to save Bordeaux." The tumult augmented every moment. Madame was anxious to attempt every thing to maintain so intrepid a disposition.

But to insure the success of any enterprise against General Clausel, the concurrence of the troops of the line, in garrison in the city, was necessary; the force of national guards not being sufficient. Notwithstanding

ing the oath of fidelity which those troops had renewed, as I have before stated; and notwithstanding the magnificent entertainment at which, a few days before, these regiments and the national guard had fraternised, and drank the king's health together, the same spirit no longer remained; they were totally changed—perfidious agents of Bonaparte had excited them to revolt, and, according to the reports of the general officers, the insurrection was at its height in the barracks. The military authorities gave an alarming account of the disposition of the troops even as regarded Madame. The officers commanding battalions declared they could not answer for her royal highness' safety, the expressions of the soldiers had become so shocking. They had every thing to fear for her life, they added; if she did not quickly leave Bordeaux. A very different opinion was prevalent among the officers of the guards who remained faithful. They were persuaded that nothing could resist the presence of Madame; and they did not doubt but that, if she presented herself before the troops of the line, they would be brought back to their duty to the king; and that by joining their forces to the national guard, they might save Bordeaux from a disgraceful submission; upon which they could not even think without horror—so much was the idea of seeing the tricoloured flag flying abhorred.

In the midst of this difference of opinion, Madame did not hesitate to take a decisive step. "I will visit the barracks, said she, and judge myself of the disposition of the troops." And actually, at two o'clock,

she got into an open carriage, and a numerous escort of general officers accompanied her on horseback. I assure you that this warlike march had in it something very imposing. They arrived at the Saint Raphael barracks—a profound silence reigned at the entrance of Madame. She got out of the carriage, and passing twice through the ranks, with that dignity which you know she possesses, she placed herself opposite to the centre, announcing her intention to speak to the officers. She then, in a very elevated tone of voice, addressed them as follows :

“Gentlemen, you are not ignorant of the events that have taken place. A stranger comes to seize upon the throne of your legitimate king. Bordeaux is threatened by a handful of rebels—the national guards are determined to defend the town. This is the time to shew your fidelity to your oaths. I come here to remind you of them, and to judge myself of the sentiments of each one for his legitimate sovereign. I wish every one to speak with freedom—I demand it—Are you disposed to assist the national guard in its efforts to defend Bordeaux against those who are about to attack it? Reply frankly.” The only answer was a dead silence. “You do not then longer remember the oaths you renewed but a few days since to me. If there yet remain among you any who do remember them, and who remain faithful to the cause of the king, let them step out of the ranks, and express it loudly.” Some swords were drawn. “Your number is very small,” continued Madame, “but no matter, we know, at least, those upon whom we can

rely." Protestations of attachment to her person were addressed to her by some of the soldiers. "We will not suffer any one to harm you; we will defend you," cried several voices. "The question is not about me," replied Madame, with vehemence, "will you serve the king." "Every thing that our officers command us to do for the good of our country, we will obey; but we do not want civil war, and we will never fight against our brethren." In vain Madame recalled to them what duty and honour exacted of them; they were deaf to her voice. Before she left them she begged them to promise, at least, to maintain order in the city, if it should be taken, and to see that no harm was done to the national guard, in case any evil disposition towards it existed. They promised. Madame retired, with her heart torn by the scene of which she had been a witness. But this was nothing to what followed: the visit to the next barrack was even yet more painful. The spirit of revolt was a thousand times more visible, and it was yet more unsuccessfully that Madame endeavoured to bring them back to the path of honour. Notwithstanding the little success her royal highness could expect from a third trial among such troops, she would neglect nothing, and it was at Chateau Trompette that the last efforts of her heroic courage were carried to the highest pitch. What a reception did they there prepare for the august daughter of so many kings! Never shall I forget it;—so much pain did it give me! After having passed the dark vaulted entrance of this strong castle, figure to yourself the scene that presented itself

to us when we advanced to the interior of the barracks, transformed at this moment into a real den of banditti. We found there the mutinous soldiery, under arms, with ferocity in their air, with dark countenances, and trembling with rage, as if about to seize upon their prey. With a spirit and energy not to be surpassed, Madame addressed them in terms best calculated to move the most hardened hearts. At any other time they would have been affected by it; but to what excess of impropriety must they have been excited, when their rage seemed to be redoubled at hearing a language so noble and affecting? The emotion of Madame continued to augment and her eloquence increased—tears bathed her visage. “What,” said she, “is this the regiment of Angoulême that I am addressing? Have you so soon forgotten the favours heaped upon you by the Duke of Angoulême? Do you not then look upon him any longer as your commander—him whom you called your prince? And me too—to whom you renewed your oaths of fidelity—me, whom you called your princess—do you recognise me no longer? Oh God,” added she, with a tone of the most poignant grief, “after twenty years of misery, it is cruel to be again driven to banishment. I never ceased to pray for the happiness of my country, for I am a Frenchwoman—and you—you are not Frenchmen. Go—retire.” Will it be believed that, at this moment, a being could be found so vile, as to dare to say with a tone of irony—“I make no reply, because I respect misfortune.” My blood yet boils at the remembrance of so much insolence—never did

I experience such a sentiment of indignation. Madame gave the signal for our departure. A rolling of the drum was heard, and we moved away under the battery of this sad fortress, with hearts more sorrowful than when we entered.

To moderate the bitterness of this dreadful chalice, it seemed as if Madame had reserved to the last, the review of the faithful national guard which was in order of battle, on the superb Quay which lines the borders of the Garonne. A very different scene awaited her there. When she appeared there was a general cry of "vive le roi ! vive Madame !" At the sight of the profound grief that was depicted in her countenance, they redoubled their expressions of attachment to her, and expressed them with transport. She met with great difficulty in making herself heard in the midst of those cries—at last she obtained silence, and standing up in the carriage, in order to be more distinctly heard by the crowd that surrounded, she addressed to that faithful guard every thing that her heart suggested to her noble and touching, in order to express to them how much she was affected by their zeal and devotion to the king.

"I come," said she, "to ask of you a last favour—promise to obey me in all that I shall command." "We swear it." "Well then," continued Madame, "from what I have just witnessed, we cannot rely upon the assistance of the garrison ; and it is useless to endeavour to defend yourselves. You have done enough for honour. Preserve for the king his faithful subjects until a prosperous time. I take every thing upon

myself—I order you not to fight.” “No, no, release us from our oaths—we wish to die for the king, we wish to die for you.” They pressed round the carriage; they seized, and kissed, the hands of Madame; and asked as a last favour that the brave inhabitants of Bordeaux might be permitted to shed their blood. The enthusiasm mounted almost to delirium—the whole city partook of it, and joined their cries of *vive le roi*, to those of the national guard. No situation could have been more singular than that of Madame at this moment. She was directly opposite to the position of General Clausel, who, from the other side of the river, was a witness to all the homage paid to her royal highness. He could not avoid perceiving every proof of love bestowed upon Madame; for the sound was heard by him very distinctly; he was much alarmed, and had cannon pointed towards that quarter. White flags were displayed at every window, and formed an agreeable perspective for this traitor. The city never before exhibited such a spectacle—it could not have been, on a day of the most splendid entry, more distinguished for proofs of loyalty. The population appeared to be doubled; and when Madame returned to the palace she was accompanied by all that loyal population, who blessed her with tears in their eyes, and partook from the bottom of their hearts, of her grief and regret.

Hardly had we returned, when a fire of musketry took place in the city; we saw some wounded carried by; and some persons were killed. Every moment they came to Madame with dreadful news; and

reported that this was but the prelude to massacre. The mutinous regiments had sallied from their barracks: a portion of them were drawn up near the theatre, and expressed such a horrid determination, that the generals, and many officers, came to intreat Madame to think of her safety. Nothing could induce her to abandon that unfortunate city: she could not bear to think of the dreadful fate which was, perhaps, reserved for them after her departure. She was overwhelmed with grief when they came to announce to her, that if she prolonged her stay, so far from being of use to Bordeaux, that Gen. Clausel would treat the city much worse on her account. Then, (what they could not obtain from her by mentioning the danger she was exposed to, and the risk of her personal safety,) the moment the safety of the city and inhabitants became the question, she yielded. At eight o'clock in the evening she bade farewell to all those who, unable to follow her, remained not, on that account, the less attached to her at Bordeaux. She got into her carriage and departed, escorted by that same faithful guard, who were now mounted, and attended to watch over her life, and secure her retreat. A sad and profound silence reigned in the city; every one retired to his own home, and the windows of the houses were completely closed. Such were the preparations made for the reception to be given to Gen. Clausel. In fact, we afterwards knew that he asked, on entering the city, whether there were no longer inhabitants in Bordeaux? But as Madame passed along, notwithstanding the closed doors and windows,

from the interior of the houses we could hear, as if repeated from an echo, the cry of "Vive Madame! "Vive Madame!"

The sky became cloudy at our departure from the city, and rain began to fall: the night turned out one of the very darkest, and our little escort had great difficulty in recognising each other. Under these circumstances we proceeded, upon a sandy road which leads to Pouillac. We travelled briskly all night, and it was eight o'clock in the morning of Sunday the second of April, before we could reach that place. On getting out of her carriage, the first desire of Madame was to hear mass. The assistance of heaven was more than ever necessary to her. She had so many sacrifices to make in leaving France! So much anxiety upon the subject of those who were most dear to her, whom she left behind! So many agonising remembrances, and so many trials still to go through! All were laid before the throne of God, and providence showered blessings in answer to fervent prayers.

Every thing being ready for our embarkation, we got into the English captain's long-boat, and, through a beating rain, were put on board the *Wanderer*, a sloop of war, which was to convey Madame to Spain, where she was desirous to go.

No one can describe the despair of the loyal guard, who had escorted her Royal Highness from Bordeaux, when obliged to leave her.

With little boats they had followed the long-boat, and rowed about the *Wanderer*, begging, with earnestness, once again to see Madame: She came up-

on deck, and immediately a cry of grief was heard. Every one, to soften his regret, wished, at least, to obtain some article which had belonged to her; some of her ribands were distributed; but as they were not sufficient, she took off the white plumes which were in her hat, and distributed them. With what a transport of gratitude did they receive that gift! And what a consoling hope did they carry away with them, when they reflected, that that plume might one day rally them all in the field of honour.

We hoisted sail, and began to leave France.

No. III.

Report of Lieutenant General Count de Laborde to his Excellency the Marshal Prince of Eckmühl, Minister of War.

Toulouse, fourth of April, 1815.

SIR,

I received the Emperor's orders, and yours, by Gen. Chartray, on the first of April, instant. Aware of the surprising events, which succeeded each other with such rapidity, since the first of March, I should not have waited for orders to have given the Empe-

ror a fresh proof of my sentiments ; but I had with me but a very small number of officers and soldiers. The sixty-ninth regiment of the line, and the greatest portion of the third regiment of artillery, and of the fifteenth regiment of chasseurs, had been marched to points beyond the limits of my command. I was in a city, containing a population of fifty thousand souls, where the presence of the Baron de Vitrolles, the pretended commissioner of the king, restrained the zeal of the well-meaning citizens, who form a great majority. My forces were reduced to almost nothing—the Baron de Vitrolles added to his by levies which, though not numerous, and but poorly organised, still procured him some companies.

While affairs were thus circumstanced, the Count de Damas-Crux arrived at Toulouse; he was soon followed by the Marshal Perignon, whom the Duke d'Angoulême had appointed to the command of the tenth division. This nomination appeared to me a singular one—but whilst Marshal Perignon received my communications very coldly, I was convinced that this coldness, which did not escape the notice, increased the confidence, of the Royalist party. I concluded that further delay was improper.

Four companies of artillery, which they despaired of attaching to a cause entirely lost, were returning from Nîmes to Toulouse. The Baron de Vitrolles despatched orders to them to fall back upon Narbonne. I frustrated those orders, and sent some intelligent officers to desire those companies to arrive at Toulouse as quickly as possible, notwithstanding the orders of

Marshal Perignon, which I took upon myself to disregard. My arrangements being thus completed, I had the Baron de Vitrolles arrested this morning at day-break. I am now taking an account of his papers. I have also caused the Count de Damas to be arrested. I deemed it proper immediately to repair to the house of Marshal Perignon, although his powers had ceased since the reception of those which his Imperial Majesty had been pleased to confer upon me. I proposed to the Marshal to put himself at the head of the movement I was preparing, consenting freely to sacrifice to him the honour of the day, which would thus have been attended with more eclat. The marshal, having equivocated, and shewn weakness, I did not insist. I gave, myself, the signal, and, at five o'clock, the tri-coloured flag was flying on our steeples, and public monuments; at the same hour, the garrison mounted the national cockade, amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of people.

Twelve o'clock—the enthusiasm is at its height. The proclamations of the Emperor produce the most lively sensation: no excesses have been committed, no symptoms of opposition have been manifested.

The Count de Saint Aulaire, prefect of this department, has conducted himself with propriety.

The Count de Damas, and the Baron de Vitrolles, have earnestly requested permission to depart. I have permitted the Count de Damas, whose situation rendered him no wise dangerous, to retire towards Spain across the upper and lower Pyrennees; this

was besides in conformity with the decree of the Emperor upon the subject of emigrants.

As to M. de Vitrolles, I have deemed it expedient to detain him, in consideration of the situation he filled here, and on account of his infamous conduct. I shall await the orders of the Emperor with regard to him.

Another despatch will furnish you with further particulars, as well as a view of our position, which is a very good one. You will receive also the names of the citizens of this town, who have assisted in the late affair. As to the officers, they must be all named to you.

The letters and orders you transmitted to me, for the generals commanding sub-divisions and departments, were forwarded to them by day break. All the departments of the division will not fail to follow the example of Toulouse—the example itself must have great influence.

Your excellency will receive inclosed the only numbers of the *Moniteur* printed here. I thought you might have a curiosity to see how the southern provinces have been deceived.

I conclude with observing to you, sir, that since the entry of the Emperor at Paris, all the despatches which may have been addressed to me, have been intercepted by M. de Vitrolles; the chasm requires to be promptly supplied.

Marshal Perignon has stated to me, that he is about to retire to his country seat.

I should mention also that General Chartran was near being arrested by the agents of the Baron de Vitorlles. I suppose, however, that he has succeeded in his design of bringing back to Toulouse, two regiments, detached from under the command of the Duke d'Angouleme.

General Cassagne, and General Cassan, have seconded admirably my efforts in the operations which have taken place. I thought it conducive to the service of the Emperor to give, provisionally, the command in chief of the fortress of Toulouse to General Cassan. The population is great, and the general appears to be a man of sound understanding.

The Adjutant-General Noel Girard, chief of my division, was charged by me with the arrest of the Baron de Vitrolles.

I have the honour to be, with respect, &c.

(Signed) The Lieutenant General,
COUNT DE LABORDE.

No. IV.

*Report of the Marshal Prince of Essling, of the
14th of April, 1815.*

SIRE,

The orders of your Majesty have met with delays insurmountable in my position.

The disturbances excited in the eighth division, and particularly at Marseilles, were kept up by the presence of the Duke d'Angouleme, by the evil dispositions of the higher civil authorities, by the constant communication of the agents of the princes with foreign ministers, and by forgeries in shape of news, each more alarming than the last to peaceable citizens.

On the other hand, the Duke d'Angouleme, who had already carried off three regiments, wished also to deprive me of those who were at Toulon; and he informed me, through Monsieur de Riviere, that his intention was to place that port in the hands of the English, who in return were to furnish the king of France with money.

In a situation of such difficulty I determined, after having placed Antibes in a state to stand a siege, in order to withdraw it from the authority of the prefect of the Var, to proceed to Toulon in order to secure

to your Majesty that town together with its naval force.

Having, on the 10th of April, received intelligence that the sixth regiment, then at Avignon, had resumed the national colours, I ordered General Leclerc to keep it in a state of discipline, and to give it orders to hold itself in readiness to make a movement.

The 10th, I issued a proclamation, a copy of which is annexed. It was sent by express into the four departments of the division, with orders to have it published, and stuck up, at sound of trumpet, and to cause the national flag to be hoisted, under a discharge of twenty-one pieces of cannon, upon the forts, the town-house, and public buildings, and to cause the land and naval forces to resume the tricoloured cockade.

I gave orders to the prefects of the whole division to disband the national guards raised by the Duke d'Angouleme, to deposit their arms in the arsenals of the empire, and to place in the military magazines, clothing and equipments they had received.

I have forbidden the prefects and receiver generals to issue pay to the national guards not in your service, and to obey any order of the king's officers.

I have sent the Baron Sivray, the chief of my staff, to Draguinan, to arrest and confine in fort Lamalgue, M. Bouthelier, prefect of the Var, who has been active in that situation, and who had taken some violent measures, which I was obliged to resist.

I have caused his place to be supplied, provisionally, by the sub-prefect Ricard.

I have ordered all judicial and official acts, notarial contracts, publications, &c. to be done in the name of the emperor, as also the prayers to be used by the church for the sovereign.

On the 11th the national colours were hoisted at Toulon, and throughout the department of the Var, amidst acclamations, a thousand times repeated, of "Vive l'Empereur."

No one can describe the unfeigned joy which the land and naval forces manifested—the rejoicings were prolonged for two days.

I caused the grenadiers of the imperial guard, who were taken at Antibes, and were in Toulon, to be set at liberty.

I shall send them to Lyons.

I have also set at liberty all persons imprisoned for matters of opinion.

I have sent a sloop from Toulon to the castle of If, with orders to the commandant to set at liberty every person detained there, upon similar charges.

Rear-admiral Gourdon invested with the command of a division of frigates, having appeared to me to be a suspicious character, in my quality of lieutenant-general of your majesty, I caused the maritime prefect to have him sent on shore, and conferred the command of the three frigates and the corvettes upon Monsieur Senes, the eldest captain.

I have also confided to the same captain the command of the *Ariane*, in place of the *Sieur Garat*.

The Count Lardenoy, commandant at Toulon, being of the number of emigrants included in the decree of your majesty of the 13th of March, I caused a passport to be delivered to him, with orders to proceed to Nice.

I sent orders, by express, to all the commandants of this department, to conform to the regulations of the despatches of the minister of war, of the dates of the 5th of March and 8th of April.

I requested Admiral Gantheaume to come to Toulon, to take the command of the naval force, as commissioner extraordinary. Upon his arrival I communicated to him the instructions of your majesty.

The city of Marseilles had not surrendered on the evening of the 11th. I gave them till the 12th: I announced that I would be there on the 13th: indeed, my arrangements were completed at Toulon and Avignon; but I was not obliged to act.

On the 12th, the municipal council of Marseilles deputed three of its members to wait upon me with the submission of that city.

I entertained the deputation; and, during the night of the 12th, the prefect of the Mouths of the Rhone announced to me, by express, that the tricoloured flag was flying at the town-house, at the prefecture, upon the forts and public buildings; that the greatest tranquillity reigned in the place; and that he had caused my orders and proclamations to be forwarded to the sub-prefects, in order that the example of the

chief city might be followed by all the country towns. I gave orders also that endeavours should be made to apprehend Messieurs de Brulard and de Riviere.

I deprived the prefect of the Mouths of the Rhone, his secretary-general, and the mayor of Marseilles, of their offices, which I have filled provisionally.

I have ordered that the extraordinary impost of twenty-five per cent, fixed by the general council of the department, should continue to be received for the use of the imperial treasury.

I have sent to Major-general Eberle orders to repair to Toulon, to take the command, in the place of M. Lardenoy.

I shall have the honour to address to your majesty a report, stating the changes which take place in the administration.

My knowledge of the country enables me to make choice of none but men of good reputation, and devoted to your majesty. I shall pray your majesty to bestow on my arrangements your approbation.

I have deemed it improper, sire, to repair immediately to Paris, as his excellency the minister of war had authorized me to do, my presence being yet necessary in the eighth division, to consolidate the happy change which has taken place.

The minister gave me the alternative of coming myself, or of sending Count Miollis: I cannot conceal how ambitious I am to have the honour of again

beholding your majesty to assure you of my unbounded devotion.

I am, with profound respect,

Sire,

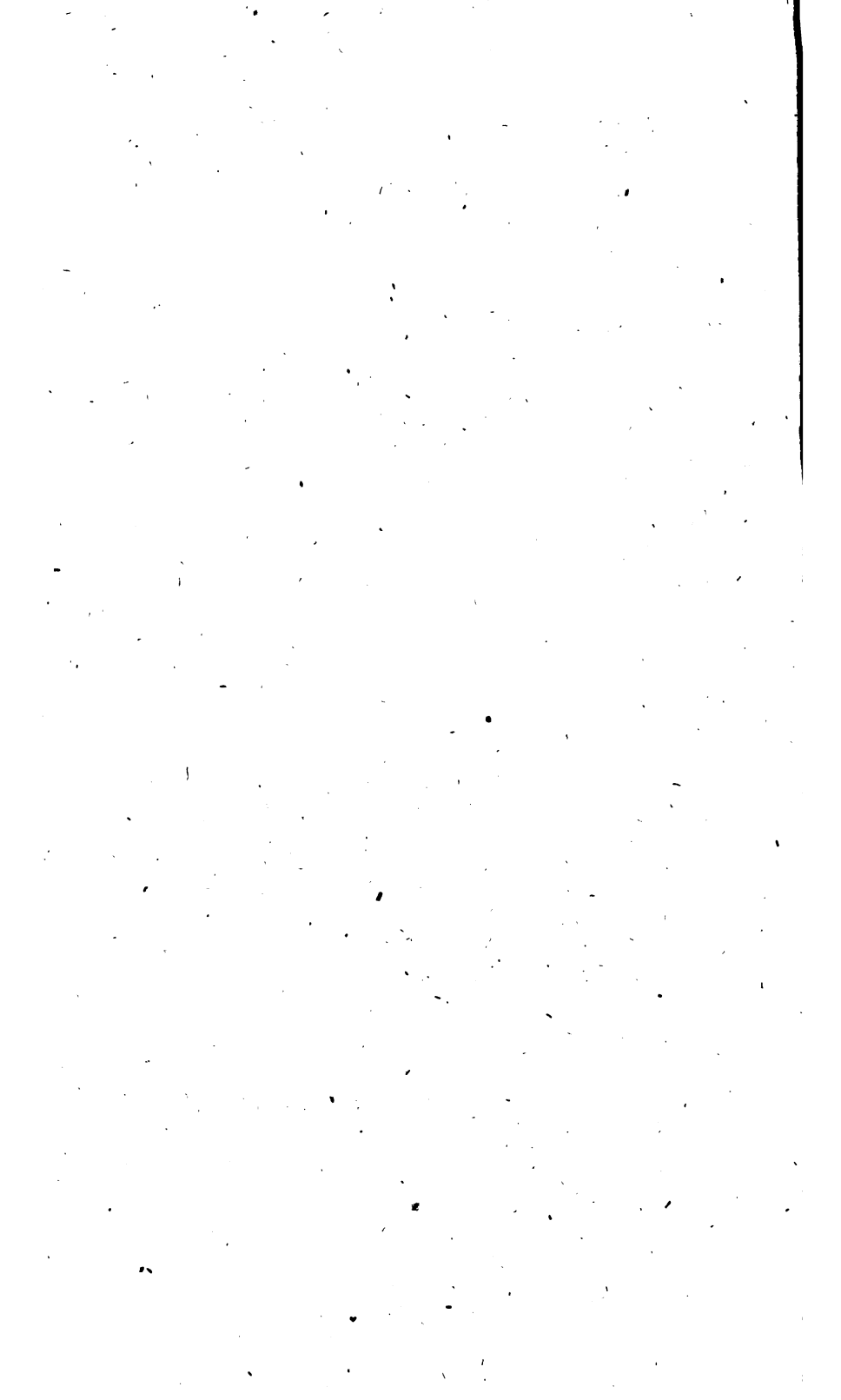
Your majesty's

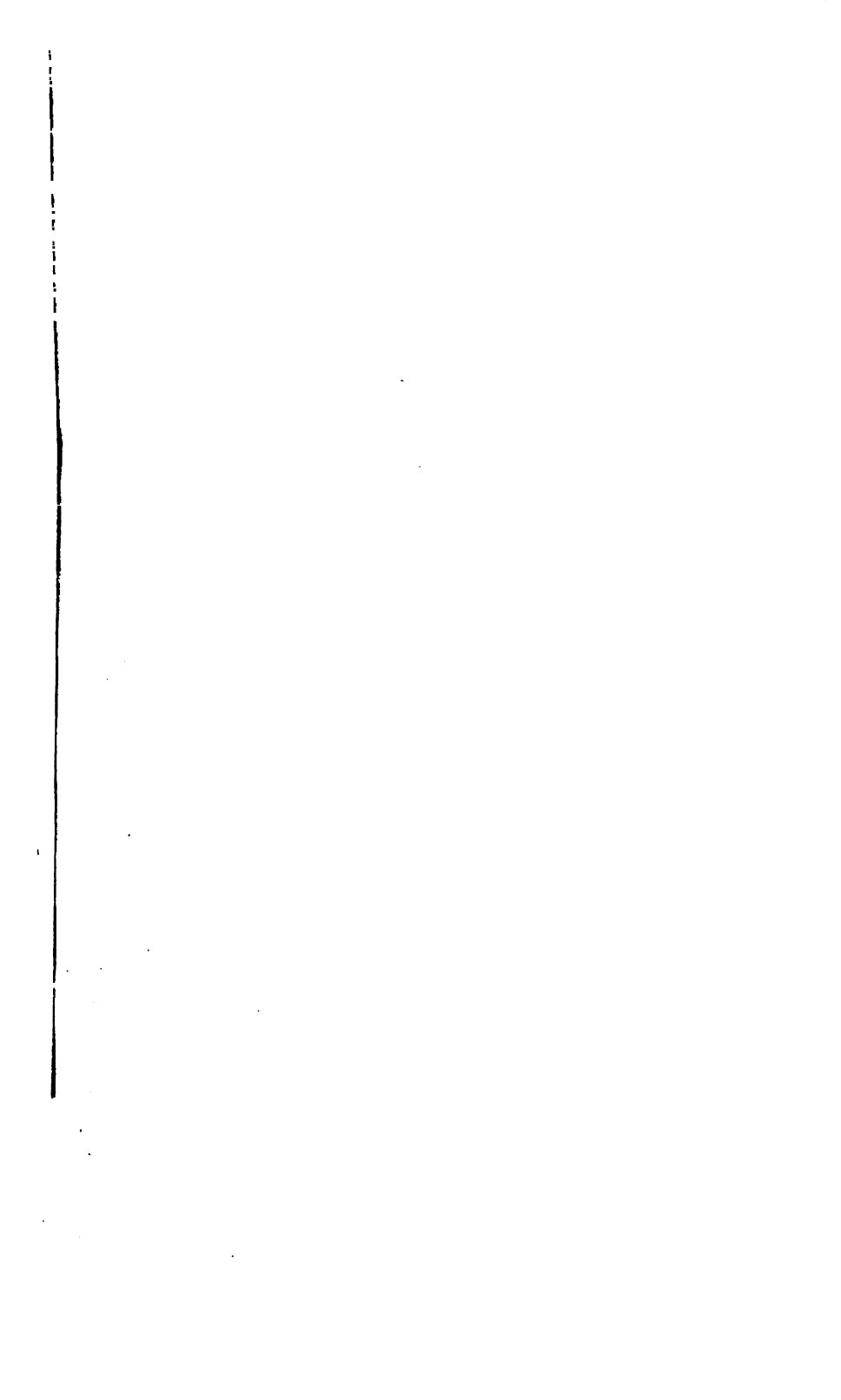
Very faithful, and very devoted servant,

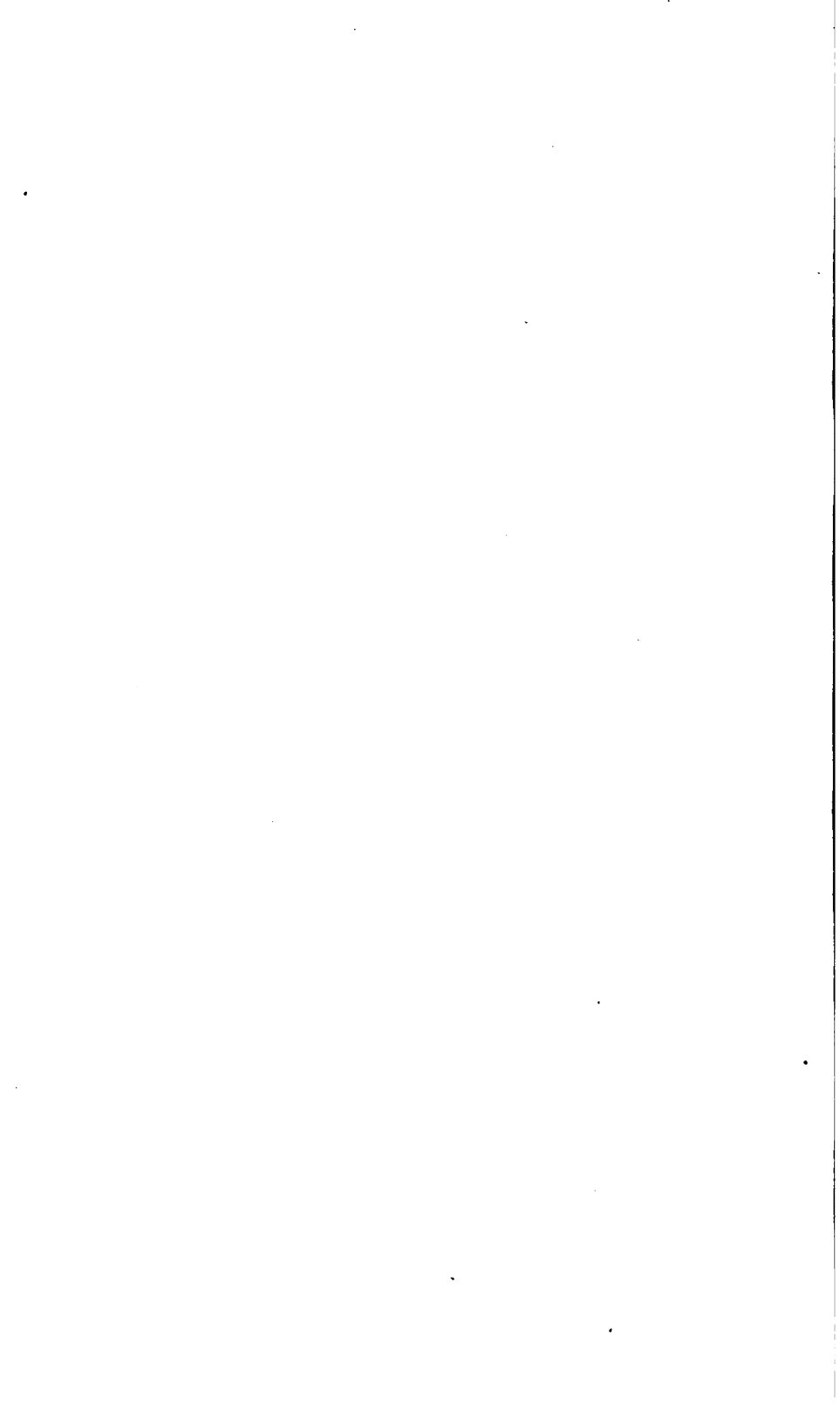
*The Marshal Duke of Rivoli, Lieutenant-general
of the Emperor, in the eighth and twenty-third
military divisions.*

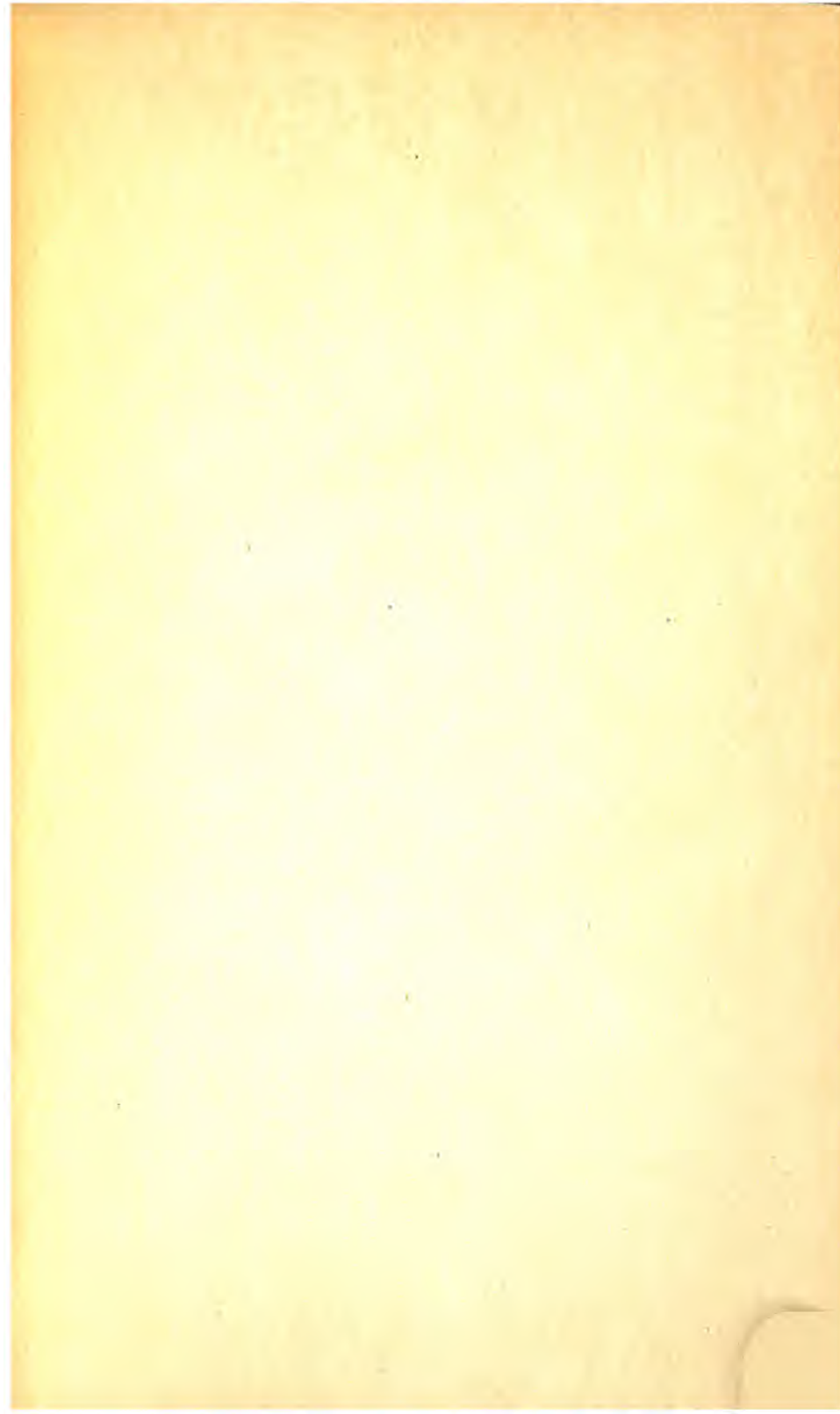
(Signed) The Prince of ESSLING.

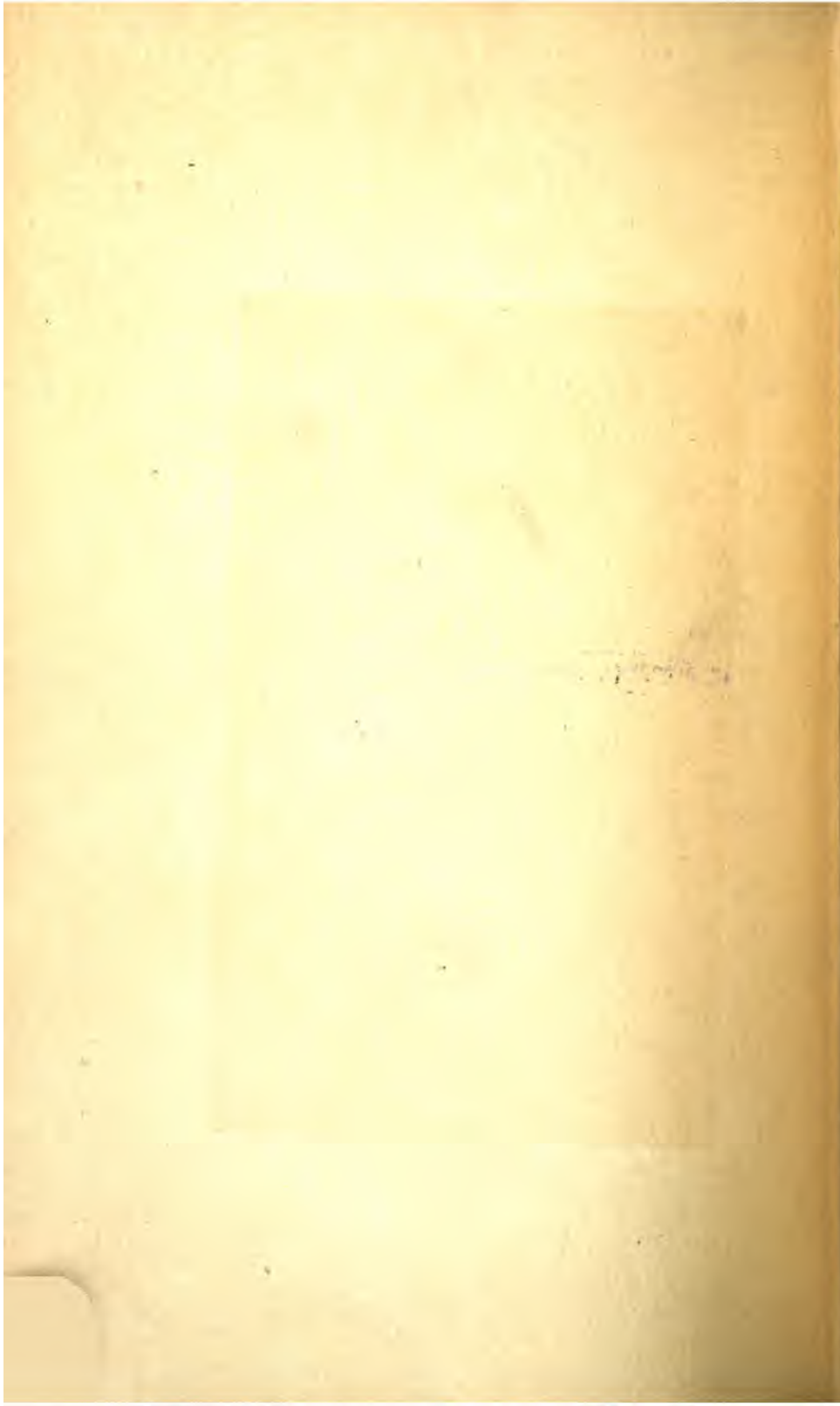
Toulon, April 14, 1815.











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